

Pietas in Patriam:

THE
L I F E
OF HIS
EXCELLENCY
Sir *William P H I P S*, Knt.

Late Captain General, and Governour
in Chief of the Province of the *Massachu-*
set-Bay, By Cotton Mather.

New England.

Containing the Memorable *Changes* Under-
gone, and *Actions* Performed by Him.

Written by one intimately acquainted with Him.

Discite Virtutem ex Hoc, verumque Laborem.

L O N D O N :

Printed by *Sam. Bridge* in *Austin-Friers*, for *Nath.*
Hiller at the *Princes-Arms* in *Leaden-Hall Street*,
over against *St. Mary-Ax*, 1697.

F67

P57

Office

Library of Congress

1867

City of Washington

*To his Excellency the Earl of Bel-
lomont, Baron of Coloony in Ire-
land, General Governour of the
Province of Massachusetts in New
England, and the Provinces an-
nexed.*

May it please your Excellency.

THE Station in which the
Hand of the God of Hea-
ven hath disposed His Ma-
jesties Heart to place your
Honour, doth so mani-
festly entitle your Lordship to this in-
suing Narrative, that its being thus Pre-
sented to your Excellencies Hand is
thereby both Apologized for and Justi-
fied. I believe, had the Writer of it,
when he Penned it, had any Knowledge
of your Excellency, he would himself
have done it, and withal would have
amply and publickly Congratulated the

The Epistle Dedicatory.

People of *New England*, on account of their having such a Governour, and your Excellency on account of your being made Governour over them. For though as to some other things it may possibly be a place to some Persons not so desirable, yet I believe this Character may be justly given of them, that they are the best People under Heaven; there being among them, not only less of open Profaneness, and less of Lewdness, but also more of the serious Profession, Practise, and Power of Christianity in proportion to their number, then is among any other People upon the Face of the whole Earth. Not but I doubt, there are many bad Persons among them, and too many distemper'd Humours, perhaps even among those who are truly good. It would be a wonder, if it should be otherwise; for it hath of late Years on various accounts, and some very singular and unusual ones, been a Day of sore Temptation with that whole People. Nevertheless, as I look upon it as a Favour from God to those Plantations that

The Epistle Dedicatory.

that he hath set your Excellency over them, so I do account it a Favour from God to your Excellency, that he hath committed and trusted in your Hand, so great a part of his peculiar Treasure and precious Jewels, as are among that People. Besides, that on other accounts, the Lord Jesus hath more of a visible Interest in *New England*, then in any of the outgoings of the *English Nation in America*. They have at their own Charge not only set up Schools of lower Learning up and down the Country; but have also erected an University, which hath been the happy Nursery of many useful, Learned, and excellently accomplished Persons. And moreover, from them hath the blessed Gospel been Preached to the poor barbarous savage *Heathens* there, and it hath taken such root among them, that there were lately four and twenty Assemblies in which the Name of the Lord Jesus was constantly called on, and celebrated in their own Language. In these things *New England* outshineth all the Colonies of the *Eng-*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Y^e In those goings down of the Sun.
I know your Excellency will Favour and
Countenance their University, and also
the Propagating of the Gospel among
the Natives; for the Interest of Christ in
that Part of the Earth is much concerned
in them. That the God of the Spirits
of all Flesh would abundantly replenish
your Excellency with a suitable Spirit
for the Service to which he hath called
your Lordship, that he would give your
Honour a prosperous Voyage thither,
and when there, make your Excellency
a rich Blessing to that People, and them
a rejoycing to your Excellency, is the
Prayer of

April 27.
1697.

My Lord,

Your Excellencies most

Humble Servant.

Nath. Mather.

THE

THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
SECTIONS.

SECT. 1. *The Introduction. The Authors Ends in Writing this Remarkable History, Page 1.*

Sect. 2. *Some great Men with whom Sir William Phips might be parallel'd. An Account of his Birth in New-England, and his Parentage, 3.*

Sect. 3. *He was early inspired with great Hopes. Yet puts himself Apprentice to a Shipwright. He Marries a Merchants Widow. Builds a Ship. Saves his Neighbours from the cruelty of the Indians, 5.*

Sect. 4. *He strangely foretels his future Advancement. An Account of his Genius and Disposition. He goes to Sea in quest of a Spanish Wreck. Sails to England for Assistance. Is made Captain of one of the Kings Frigats, 6.*

Sect. 5. *His Conduct and Courage when his Men Mutiny'd. He gets Intelligence of the Place where the Spanish Wreck lay. Sails to England again for farther help, 7.*

a:

Sect.

The Contents

Sect. 6. *His admirable Patience, Diligence, &c. in prosecuting his Business. Returns to Port de la Plata in America. Happily finds out the Wreck which had been cast away Fifty Years before. An Account how he fished and brought up two and thirty Tuns of Silver, besides Gold and Jewels. His Seamen Mutiny. He quiets them. Brings his Treasure, being about 300000 l. Sterling to London. His Honesty both to his Employers, and to his Seamen. He is Rewarded, and Knighted,*
Page 10.

Sect. 7. *His generous Temper, and great Love to his Native Country. Some Account of the sad State of New-England, by the loss of its Charter, and by an ill Governour. Sir William Phips his endeavours at Court to serve New-England. He is made High Sheriff of that Country. Sails a second time to the Wreck, with Sir John Narborough,*
15.

Sect. 8. *A large Account of New-Englands Sufferings and Oppressions under their bad Governour. For redress whereof Sir William Phips makes a Voyage to England. King James offers him the Government of New-England on Terms which He could not accept. He returns to New-England. Finds his Country in new troubles from the Indians. News is brought thither of the Prince of Orange's Success in England. An Account how the Revolution was brought about in New-England, their Governour imprisoned, &c.*
19.

Sect.

of the Sections.

Sect. 9. *Sir William Phips joyns himself to a Church in New-England. His own Account of his Conversion to God,* Page 26.

Sect. 10. *His great Zeal to serve his Country. His Expedition against the French at L'Acady, and Nova Scotia. He recovers that Country from them, Anno 1690.* 30.

Sect. 11. *A large Account of his Expedition against the French at Canada with a Fleet of 32 Ships, in the same Year. The Story out of Bradwardine of an Angel and Hermite, that travelled together,* 32.

Sect. 12. *Bills of Credit passed a little while in New-England instead of Money. Some farther Matters relating to the Canada Expedition. A wonderful Relation of a Shipwrack, and how some of the Men were strangely preserved: With the great hardships and difficulties they underwent for six or seven Months,* 43.

Sect. 13. *Sir William Phips makes a Voyage to England, to obtain help for another Expedition against Canada. His Reasons presented to the King,* 52.

Sect. 14. *Some Account of Mr. Increase Mather's Negotiations at White-Hall on the behalf of New-England. Sir William Phips joyns with him. A new Charter is obtained. Sir William is made Captain General and Governor of New-England. He and Mr. Mather return home,* 54.

Sect. 15. *How wisely and uprightly Sir William*

The Contents, &c.

am governed New-England, Page 62.

Sect. 16. *A remarkable History of the strange Witchcrafts and Possessions in New-England,*
66.

Sect. 17. *Governour Phips raiseth an Army, and marcheth against the Indians. Builds a Fort to bridle them. They sue for Peace, and own Subjection to the Crown of England. His laborious endeavours for his Country. His Care to send a Preacher to the Indians. He dispatches a Frigate to St. John's against the French. The Indians assisted by the French make a new War,* 82.

Sect. 18. *A Description and Character of Governour Phips,* 88.

Sect. 19. *The Predictions of an Astrologer concerning Sir William. And the Event,* 96.

Sect. 20. *Governour Phips, as good as he was, yet met with some Enemies. They Article against Him at White-Hall. The King sends for Him. He Sails to England where he meets with Favour, and was like to have soon returned Governour of New-England. But Dies at London, and is there Buried, and with Him, Great Hopes and Designs for the good of both Englands; some of which are recounted,* 99.

Sect. 21. *Some farther Things by way of Character and Elogy. A Poem upon his Death,*

105.

THE CONSTITUTION

1787

AMERICAN PEOPLE

WE, THE PEOPLE, in order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do hereby establish this Constitution.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, we have hereunto set our hands and seals, this 17th day of September, 1787.

GOVERNOR

VICE GOVERNOR

CLERK

DEPUTY CLERK

ATTORNEY GENERAL

CHIEF JUSTICE

JUSTICE

CLERK

DEPUTY CLERK

ATTORNEY GENERAL

CHIEF JUSTICE

JUSTICE

CLERK

DEPUTY CLERK

ATTORNEY GENERAL

CHIEF JUSTICE

JUSTICE

CLERK

DEPUTY CLERK

ATTORNEY GENERAL

CHIEF JUSTICE

JUSTICE

CLERK

DEPUTY CLERK

ATTORNEY GENERAL

CHIEF JUSTICE

JUSTICE

CLERK

DEPUTY CLERK

ATTORNEY GENERAL

CHIEF JUSTICE

THE Author of the following Narrative, is a Person of such well known Integrity, Prudence and Veracity, that there is not any cause to Question the Truth of what he here Relates. And moreover, this Writing of his is adorned with a very grateful Variety of Learning, and doth contain such surprizing workings of Providence, as do well deserve due Notice and Observation. On all which accounts, it is with just Confidence recommended to the Publick by

*April 27.
1697.*

*Nath. Mather,
John Howe,
Matth. Mead.*

THE
L I F E
Of His Excellency
Sir *William P H I P S*, Knt.
L A T E
GOVERNOUR OF
New England.

SECTION I.

IF such a Renowned Chymist, as *Quercetanus*, with a whole Tribe of *Labourers in the Fire*, since that Learned Man, find it no easie thing to make the common part of Mankind believe, That they can take a *Plant* in it's more vigorous Consistence, and after a due *Maceration, Fermentation and Separation*, extract the *Salt* of that *Plant*, which, as it were, in a *Chaos*, invisibly reserves the *Form* of the whole, with its vital Principle ; and, that keeping the *Salt* in a *Glass*

B

Herme.

Hermetically sealed, they can, by applying a *Soft Fire* to the *Glass*, make the *Vegetable* rise by little and little, out of its *Ashes*, to surprize the Spectators with a notable Illustration of that *Resurrection*, in the Faith whereof the *Jews* returning from the Graves of their Friends, pluck up the *Grass* from the Earth, using those Words of the Scripture thereupon, *Your Bones shall flourish like an Herb* : 'Tis likely, that all the Observations of such Writers, as the incomparable *Borellus*, will find it hard enough to produce our Belief, that the *Essential Salts* of *Animals*, may be so prepared and Preserved that an Ingenious man, may have the whole *Ark* of *Noah* in his own Study, and raise the fine *Shape* of an *Animal* out of its *Ashes*, at his pleasure : and, that by the like Method, from the *Essential Salts* of *Humane Dust*, a Philosopher may, without any Criminal *Necromancy*, call up the *Shape* of any *Dead* Ancestor from the *Dust* whereinto his Body has bin Incinerated. The *Resurrection of the Dead*, will be as Just, as Great an Article of our *Creed*, although the *Relations* of these Learned Men, should pass for *Incredible Romances* : But yet there is an *Anticipation* of that Blessed *Resurrection*, carrying in it some Resemblance of these *Curiosities*, which is performed, when we do in a *Book*, as in a *Glass*, reserve the History of our Departed *Friends*, and by bringing our *Warm Affections* unto such an History, we Revive, as it were out of their *Ashes*, the True *Shape* of those *Friends*, and bring to a fresh View, What was *Memorable* and *Imitable* in them. Now, in as much as *Mortality* has done its part upon a Considerable Person, with whom I had the Honour to be Well-acquainted, and a Person, as *Memorable* for the Wonderful *Charges* which befel him, as *Imitable* for his *Vertues* and *Actions* under those *Changes*, I shall endeavour with the *Chymistry* of an Impartial *Historian* to raise my Friend so far out of his *Ashes* as to shew him again unto the World, and if the Character of *Heroick Vertue* be for a Man to deserve well of *Mark-kind*, and be great in the Purpose and Success of *Essays*, to do so, I may Venture to Promise my Reader such Example of *Heroick Vertue*, in the Story whereto I Invite him

Late Governour of New-England. 3

him, that he shall say, it would have bin little short of a *Vice* in me, to have withheld it from him. Nor is it any *Partiality* for the Memory of my Deceased Friend or any other Sinister Design whatsoever, that has Invited me to this Undertaking; but I have undertaken this Matter from a sincere Desire, that the Ever-Glorious Lord *JESUS CHRIST* may have the Glory of his *Power* and *Goodness*, and of his *Providence* in what he did for such a Person, and in what He disposed and Assisted that Person to Do for Him. Now, *May He assist my writing, even He that prepared the Subject, whereof I am to write!*

S E C T. 2.

SO obscure was the *Original* of that Memorable Person, whose *Actions* I am going to relate, that I must, in a way of Writing, like that of *Plutarch*, prepare my Reader for the Intended Relation, by first searching the *Archives* of Antiquity for a *Parallel*. Now, because we will not *Parallel* him with *Eumenes*, who, though he were the Son of a poor Carrier, became a Governour of Mighty Provinces; Nor with *Marius*, whose mean Parentage did not hinder his becoming a Glorious Defender of his Country, and Seven Times the chief Magistrate of the chiefest City in the Universe: Nor with *Iphicrates*, who became a Successful and Renowned General of a Great People, though his Father were a *Cobler*: Nor with *Dioctesian*, the Son of a poor *Scrivener*: Nor with *Bonofus*, the Son of a poor *School-Master*, who yet came to sway the Scepter of the *Roman Empire*: Nor lastly, will I compare him to the more late Example of the Celebrated *Mazarini*, who though no Gentleman by his Extraction, and one so sordidly Educated, that he might have wrote *Man*, before he could write at all; yet ascended unto that Grandeur, in the Memory of many yet living, as to Umpire the most Important Affairs of *Christendom*: We will decline looking any further in that *Hemisphère* of the World, and make the *Hue and Cry* throughout the Regions of *America*, the

4 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

New World, which *He*, that is becoming the subject of our History, by his *Nativity*, belong'd unto. And in *America*, the first that meets me, is *Francisco Pizarro*, who, though a *Spurious Offspring*, expos'd when a *Babe*, in a Church-Porch, at a sorry Village of *Navarre*, and afterwards employ'd while he was a *Boy*, in keeping of Cattel, yet, at length, stealing into *America*, he so thrived upon his Adventures there, that upon some Discoveries, which with an handful of Men, he had in a Desperate Expedition made of *Peru*, he obtain'd the King of *Spain's* Commission for the Conquest of it, and at last, so incredibly enricht himself by the Conquest, that he was made the first Vice-Roy of *Peru*, and created Marquess of *Anatilla*.

To the Latter and Higheft Part of that Story, if any thing hindred His Excellency Sir *WILLIAM PHIPS* from affording of a *Parallel*, it was not the want either of *Design*, or of *Courage*, or of *Conduct* in himself, but it was the Fate of a *Premature Mortality*. For my Reader now being satisfied, That a Person's being *Obscure* in his *Original*, is not always a Just Prejudice to an Expectation of *Considerable Matters* from him; I shall now inform him, That this our *PHIPS* was Born *Feb. 2. A. Dom. 1650.* at a despicable Plantation on the River of *Kennebeck*, and almost the furthest Village of the Eastern Settlement of *New-England*. And as the *Father* of that Man, which was as great a Blessing as *England* had in the Age of that Man, was a *Smith*, so a *Gun-Smith*, namely, *James Phips*, once of *Bristol*, had the Honour of being the *Father* to him, whom we shall presently see, made by the God of Heaven, as Great a Blessing to *New-England*, as that Country could have had, if they themselves had pleas'd. His fruitful *Mother*, yet living, had no less than *Twenty Six* Children, whereof *Twenty One* were Sons; but æquivalent to them all was *WILLIAM*, one of the youngest, whom his *Father* dying, left young with his *Mother*, and with her he lived, keeping of *Sheep in the Wilderness*, until he was *Eighteen Years Old*; at which Time, he began

Late Governour of New-England. 5

gan to feel some further Dispositions of Mind from that *Providence* of God which took him from the *Sheep-folds*, from following the *Ewes* great with young, and brought him to feed his *People*. Reader, Enquire no further who was his *Father*? Thou shalt anon see, that he was, as the *Italians* express it, *A Son to his own Labours*!

S E C T. 3.

HIS Friends earnestly solicited him to settle among them in a Plantation of the *East*; but he had an Unaccountable *Impulse* upon his Mind, perswading him, as he would privately hint unto some of them, *That he was Born to Greater Matters*. To come at those *Greater Matters*, his first Contrivance was to bind himself an Apprentice unto a *Ship-Carpenter* for Four Years; in which Time, he became a Master of the *Trade*, that once in a Vessel of more than *Forty Thousand Tuns*, Repaired the Ruines of the Earth. He then betook himself an Hundred and Fifty Miles further a Field, even to *Boston*, the chief Town of *New-England*; which being a Place of the most Business and Resort in those parts of the World; he expected there more commodiously to pursue the *Spes Majorum & Meliorum*, *Hopes* which had Inspir'd him. At *Boston*, where it was that he now learnt, first of all, to *Read* and *Write*; he followed his *Trade* for about a Year; and, by a laudable Deportment, so recommended himself, that he Married a Young Gentlewoman of Good Reputation, who was the Widow of one Mr. *John Hull*, a well-bred Merchant, but the Daughter of one Captain *Roger Spencer*, a Person of good Fashion, who having suffer'd much dammage in his Estate, by some unkind and unjust actions, which he bore with such Patience, that for fear of thereby injuring the Publick, he would not seek satisfaction, *Posterity* might afterwards see the reward of his *patience*, in what *Providence* hath now done for one of his own *Posterity*. Within a little while after his Marriage, he Indented with several

B 3

persons

6 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

persons in *Boston*, to build them a Ship at *Sheeps-coat* River, two or three Leagues Eastward of *Kennebeck*; where having Lanch'd the Ship, he also provided a *Lading* of Lumber to bring with him, which would have been to the advantage of all concern'd. But just as the Ship was hardly finish'd, the barbarous *Indians* on that River, broke forth into an Open and Cruel War upon the *English*; and the miserable People, surpris'd by so sudden a storm of Bloud, had no Refuge from the Infidels, but the *Ship* now finishing in the Harbour. Whereupon, he left his intended *Lading* behind him, and instead thereof, carried with him, his Old Neighbours and their Families, free of all Charges to *Boston*; So, the *First Action* that he did, after he was his own Man, was to *Save his Fathers House*, with the rest of the Neighbourhood, from Ruine; but the Disappointment which beset him from the Loss of his other *Lading*, plung'd his Affairs into greater Embarrassments with such as had employ'd him.

S E C T. 4.

BUT he was hitherto, no more than beginning to make *Scaffolds* for further and higher *Actions*! He would frequently tell the Gentlewoman his Wife, That he should yet be *Captain of a King's Ship*; That he should come to have the *Command of better Men* than he was now accounted himself; And, That he should be Owner of a *Fair Brick-House* in the *Green-Lane* of *North-Boston*; and, That it may be, this would not be all that the Providence of God would bring him to. She entertained these Passages with a sufficient Incredulity; but he had so *serious* and *positive* an Expectation of them, that it is not easie to say, what was the *Original* thereof. He was of an Enterprizing *Genius*, and naturally disdain'd *Little-ness*: But his Disposition for *Business* was of the *Dutch* Mould, where, with a little shew of *Wit*, there is as much *Wisdom* demonstrated, as can be shewn by any Nation. His Talent lay not in the *Airs*, that serve chiefly for the

Late Governour of New-England. 7

the pleasant and sudden Turns of *Conversation*; but, he might say, as *Themistocles*, *Though he could not play upon a Fiddle, yet he knew how to make a little City become a Great One.* He would prudently contrive a weighty Undertaking, and then patiently pursue it unto the End. He was of an Inclination, cutting rather like a *Hatchet*, than like a *Razor*; he would propose very Considerable Matters to himself, and then so cut through them, that no Difficulties could put by the Edge of his Resolutions. Being thus of the *True Temper*, for doing of *Great Things*, he betakes himself to the *Sea*, the Right Scene for such Things; and upon Advice of a *Spanish Wreck* about the *Bahama's*, he took a Voyage thither; but with little more success, than what just served him a little to furnish him for a Voyage to *England*; whither he went in a Vessel, not much unlike that, which the *Dutchmen* stamped on their *First Coin*, with these Words about it, *Incertum quo Fata ferant.* Having first informed himself, that there was another *Spanish Wreck*, wherein was lost a mighty Treasure, hitherto undiscovered, he had a strong Impression upon his Mind, that *He* must be the Discoverer; and he made such Representations of his Design at *White-Hall*, that by the Year 1683, he became the Captain of a *King's Ship*, and arrived at *New-England*, Commander of the *Algier-Rose*, a Frigate of Eighteen Guns, and Ninety five Men.

S E C T. 5.

T O Relate all the *Dangers* through which he passed, both by Sea and Land, and all the Tiresome Trials of his *Patience*, as well as of his *Courage*, while Year after Year, the most vexing Accidents imaginable, delay'd the Success of his Design, it would even Tire the patience of the Reader: For very great was the Experiment that Captain *Phips* made of the *Italian Observation*, *He that can't suffer both Good and Evil, will never come to any great Preferment.* Wherefore I shall supersede all *Journal* of his Voyages to and fro, with

8 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

reciting one Instance of his Conduct, that shew'd him to be a Person of no contemptible Capacity. While he was Captain of the *Algier-Rose*, his Men growing weary of their unsuccessful Enterprize, made a Mutiny, wherein they approach'd him on the Quarter-Deck, with Drawn Swords in their Hands, and required him to join with them in Running away with the Ship, to drive a Trade of PyracY on the *South Seas*. Captain *Phips*, though he had not so much of a Weapon, as an *Ox-Goad*, or a *Jaw-bone* in his Hands, yet like another *Shamgar* or *Sampson*, with a most undaunted Fortitude, he rush'd in upon them, and with the Blows of his bare Hands, *Fell'd* many of them, and *Quell'd* all the Rest. But this is not the Instance which I intend'd: That which I intend is, That (as it has been related unto me) One Day, while his Frigate lay *Careening*, at a desolate *Spanish* Island, by the side of a Rock, from whence they had laid a Bridge to the Shoar, the Men, whereof he had about an *Hundred*, went all but about Eight or Ten, to divert themselves, as they pretended, in the *Woods*: Where, they all entred into an *Agreement*, which they Sign'd in a Ring, That about seven a Clock that Evening, they would seize the Captain, and those Eight or Ten, which they knew to be True unto him, and leave them to perish on this Island, and so be gone away unto the *South Sea* to seek their Fortune. Will the Reader now imagine, that Captain *Phips* having Advice of this Plot, but about an Hour and half before it was to be put in Execution, yet within *Two Hours* brought all these Rogues down upon their Knees, to beg for their lives? But so it was! For these Knaves considering, that they should want a *Carpenter* with them in their *Villanous Expedition*, sent a Messenger to fetch unto them the *Carpenter*, who was then at Work upon the Vessel; and unto him they shew'd their *Articles*, telling him what he must look for, if he did not *subscribe* among them. The *Carpenter* being an honest Fellow, did with much importunity, prevail for one half hours Time to consider of the Matter; and returning to
Work

Late Governour of New-England. 9

Work upon the Vessel, with a *Spy* by them set upon him, he feigned himself taken with a Fit of the *Cholick*, for the Relief whereof he suddenly run unto the Captain in the Great Cabbin for a *Dram*; where, when he came, his business was only in brief, to tell the Captain of the horrible Distress which he was fallen into; but the Captain bid him as briefly, return to the Rogues in the *Woods*, and Sign their *Articles*, and leave him to provide for the Rest. The *Carpenter* was no sooner gone, but Captain *Phips* calling together the few Friends (it may be seven or eight) that were left him aboard, whereof the Gunner was one, demanded of them, whether they would stand by him in the Extremity, which he informed them was now come upon him; whereto they reply'd, *They would stand by him, if he could save them*; And he Answer'd, *By the help of God, he did not fear it*. All their Provisions had been carried a shoar to a Tent, made for that purpose there; about which they had placed several Great Guns to defend it, in case of any *Assault* from *Spaniards*, that might happen to come that way. Wherefore Captain *Phips*, immediately ordered those Guns to be silently Drawn and Turn'd; and so, pulling up the Bridge, he charged his Great Guns aboard, and brought them to Bear on every side of the Tent. By this Time the *Army of Rebels* comes out of the Woods; but as they drew near to the Tent of Provisions, they saw such a change of Circumstances, that they cryed out, *We are Betray'd!* and they were soon confirm'd in it, when they heard the Captain with a stern Fury call to them, *Stand off, ye Wretches at your Peril!* He quickly saw them cast into a more than ordinary confusion, when they saw Him ready to Fire his Great Guns upon them, if they offered one Step further than he permitted them: And, when he had signified unto them his *Resolve* to abandon them unto all the Desolation which they had purposed for him; he caused the *Bridge* to be again laid, and his Men begun to take the Provisions aboard. When the Wretches beheld what was coming upon them,

10 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

them, they fell to very humble Entreaties; and at last, fell down upon their Knees, protesting, *That they never had any thing against him, except only his unwillingness to go away with the King's Ship upon the South-Sea Design: But upon all other Accounts, they would choose rather to Live and Die with him, than with any Man in the World; however, since they saw how much he was dissatisfied at it, they would insist upon it no more, and humbly begg'd his Pardon.* And when he judg'd, that he had kept them on their *Knees* long enough, he having first secur'd their *Arms*, received them aboard; but he immediately weigh'd Anchor, and arriving at *Jamaica*, he Turn'd them off. Now with a small Company of other Men, he sail'd from thence to *Hispaniola*, where, by the Policy of his Address, he fish'd out of a very old *Spaniard*, (or *Portuguese*) a little advice about the true Spot where lay the *Wreck*, which he had been hitherto seeking, as unprosperously, as the *Chymists* have their *Aurifick Stone*: That it was upon a *Reef of Shoals*, a few Leagues to the Northward of *Port de la Plata*, upon *Hispaniola*, a Port so call'd, it seems, from the Landing of some of the *Ship-wreck'd* Company, with a Boat full of Plate, saved out of their Sinking Frigate: Nevertheless, when he had searched very narrowly the Spot, whereof the Old *Spaniard* had advis'd him, he not hitherto exactly lit upon it. Such *Tkorns* did vex his Affairs, while he was in the *Rose-Frigat*; but none of all these things could retund the Edge of his Expectations to find the *Wreck*; with such Expectations he return'd then into *England*, that he might there better furnish himself to Prosecute a *New Discovery*; for though he judg'd, he might, by proceeding a little further, have come at the right Spot, yet he found his present Company too ill a Crew to be confided in.

S E C T. 6.

SO proper was his Behaviour, that the best Noble Men in the Kingdom, now admitted him into their
Con-

Late Governour of New-England. 11

Conversation; but yet he was opposed by powerful Enemies, that Clogg'd his Affairs with such Demurrages, and such *Disappointments*, as would have wholly Discouraged his Designs, if his Patience had not bin *Invincible*. *He who can wait, hath what he desireth*. This his Indefatigable *Patience*, with a proportionable *Diligence*, at length overcame the Difficulties that had bin thrown in his way; and prevailing with the Duke of *Albemarl*, and some other Persons of Quality, to fit him out, he set Sail for the *Fishing-Ground*, which had bin so well baited, half an Hundred Years before: And as he had already discovered his *Capacity for business*, in many considerable Actions, he now added unto those Discoveries, by not only *providing* all, but also by *inventing* many of the Instruments necessary to the prosecution of his intended *Fisbery*. Captain *Phips* arriving with a Ship and a *Tender*, at *Port de la Plata*, made a stout *Canoo* of a stately *Cotton Tree*, so large as to carry Eight or Ten Oars, for the making of which *Periaga* (as they call it) he did, with the same industry that he did every thing else, employ his own *Hand* and *Adse*, and endure no little hardship, lying abroad in the Woods many Nights together. This *Periaga*, with the *Tender*, being Anchored at a place convenient, the *Periaga* kept Busking to and again, but could only discover a *Reef of Rising Shoals* thereabouts, called *The Boilers*, which Rising to be within Two or Three Foot of the Surface of the Sea, were yet so steep, that a Ship striking on them, would immediately sink down, who could say, *how many Fathom?* into the Ocean. Here they could get no other Pay for their long *peeping* among the *Boilers*, but only such as caused them to think upon returning to their Captain, with the *bad News* of their total Disappointment. Nevertheless, as they were upon the Return, one of the Men looking over the side of the *Periaga*, into the calm Water, he spied a *Sea Feather*, growing as he judged, out of a Rock; whereupon they bad one of their *Indians* to Dive, and fetch this *Feather*, that they might however carry home *something* with them,

them, and make, at least, as fair a Triumph as *Caligula's*. The *Diver*, bringing up the *Feather*, brought therewithal a surprizing story, That he perceived a Number of *Great Guns* in the *Warry World* where he had found his *Feather*; the *Report* of which *Great Guns* exceedingly astonished the whole Company; and at once, turned their *Despondencies* for their ill success, into *Assurances*, that they had now lit upon the *True spot* of Ground which they had been looking for; and they were further confirmed in these *Assurances*, when upon further Diving, the *Indian* fetcht up a *Sow*, as they stil'd it, or a Lump of Silver, worth perhaps, Two or Three Hundred Pounds. Upon this they prudently *Buoy'd* the place, that they might readily find it again; And they went back unto their Captain, whom for some while, they distressed with nothing but such *Bad News*, as they formerly thought they must have carried him: Nevertheless they so slipt in the *Sow* of Silver, on one side under the Table, where they were now sitting with the Captain, and hearing him express his Resolutions to wait still patiently upon the Providence of God under these Disappointments, that when he should look on one side, he might see that *Odd Thing* before him. At last he *saw* it; seeing it, he cryed out with some Agony, *Why? What is this? Whence comes this?* And then, with changed Countenances, they told him *how*, and *where* they got it: Then, said he, *Thanks be to God! We are made;* And so, away they went, all hands to Work; wherein they had this one further piece of Remarkable Prosperity, that whereas, if they had first fallen upon that part of the *Spanish Wreck*, where the Pieces of Eight had been stowed in Bags among the Ballast, they had seen a more laborious, and less enriching time of it: Now, most happily, they first fell upon that Room in the *Wreck*, where the *Bullion* had been stored up; and they so prospered in this *New Fishery*, that in a little while they had, without the loss of any Man's Life, brought up *Thirty Two Tuns* of Silver; for it was now come to measuring of Silver by *Tuns*. Besides which, one *Ad-*
derly

Late Governour of New-England. 13

derly of Providence, who had formerly been very helpful to Captain *Phips* in the Search of this *Wreck*, did upon former Agreement meet him now, with a little Vessel here; and he, with his few hands, took up about *Six Tuns* of Silver; whereof nevertheless, he made so little use, that in a year or two, he died at *Bermudas*, and as I have heard, he ran *Distracted* some while before he died. Thus did there once again, come into the Light of the Sun, a Treasure which had been half an Hundred Years *groaning under the Waters*: And in this time, there was grown upon the Plate, a Crust like *Limestone*, to the thickness of several Inches; which Crust being broken open, by Irons contrived for that purpose, they knockt out whole Bushels of rusty Pieces of Eight, which were grown thereinto. Besides that incredible Treasure of Plate in various forms, thus fetch'd up, from seven or eight Fathom under Water, there were vast Riches of *Gold* and *Pearls* and *Jewels*, which they also lit upon; and indeed, for a more Comprehensive *Invoice*, I must but summarily say, *All that a Spanish Frigate uses to be enricht withal*. Thus did they continue *Fishing*, till their Provisions failing them, 'twas time to be gone; but before they went, Captain *Phips* caused *Alderly* and his Folk to swear, That they would none of them Discover the place of the *Wreck*, or come to the Place any more till the next Year, when he expected again to be there himself. And it was also Remarkable, that though the Sows came up still so fast, that on the very last Day of their being there, they took up *Twenty*, yet it was afterwards found, that they had in a manner wholly cleared that Room of the Ship, where those *Massy things* were Stowed.

But there was one extraordinary Distress which Captain *Phips* now found himself plunged into: For his Men were come out with him upon Seamen's Wages, at so much *per Month*; and when they saw such vast Litters of Silver *Sows* and *Pigs*, as they call them, come on Board them, at the Captains Call, they knew not how to bear it, that they should not *share* all among themselves, and be gone to lead a *short life and a merry*,
in

in a Climate, where the Arrest of those that had hired them, should not reach them. In this terrible Distress, he made his Vows unto Almighty God, that if the Lord would carry him safe home to *England*, with what he had now given him, to suck of the abundance of the Seas, and of the Treasures hid in the Sands, he would for ever Devote himself unto the Interests of the Lord *Jesus Christ*, and of his People, especially in the Country which he did himself Originally belong unto. And he then used all the obliging *Arts* imaginable, to make his Men true unto him, especially by assuring them, that besides their *Wages*, they should have ample *Requitals* made unto them; which if the rest of his Employers would not agree unto, he would himself distribute his own share among them. Relying upon the Word of One, whom they had ever found worthy of their Love, and of their Trust, they declared themselves Content: But still keeping a most careful Eye upon them, he hastned back for *England*, with as much Money as he thought he could then safely Trust his Vessel withal; not counting it safe to supply himself with necessary Provisions at any nearer Port, and so return unto the *Wreck*, by which delays, he wisely feared lest all might be lost, more ways than one. Though he also left so much behind him, that many from divers parts made very considerable Voyages of *Gleanings* after his *Harvest*: which came to pass by certain *Bermudians*, compelling of *Adderly's* Boy, whom they spirited away with them, to tell them the exact place where the *Wreck* was to be found. Captain *Phips* now coming up to *London*, in the Year 1687. with near *Three Hundred Thousand Pounds sterling* aboard him, did acquit himself with such an Exemplary Honesty, that partly by his fulfilling his Assurances to the Seamen, and partly by his exact and punctual Care to have his Employers defrauded of nothing that might conscientiously belong unto them, he had less than sixteen Thousand pounds left unto himself: As an acknowledgment of which Honesty in him, the Duke of *Albemarle* made unto his Wife, whom he never saw, a Present

Late Governour of New-England. 15

sent of a *Golden Cup*, near a Thousand Pound in value. The Character of an *Honest Man*, he had so merited in the whole Course of his Life, and especially in this last act of it, that this, in conjunction with his other serviceable Qualities, procured him the Favours of the Greatest Persons in the Nation; And *He that had been so diligent in his Business, must now stand before Kings, and not stand before mean Men*, There were indeed, certain *mean Men*, if base, little, dirty Tricks will entitle Men to Meanness, who urged the King, to seize his *whole Cargoe*, instead of the Tenth, upon his first Arrival; on this pretence, that he had not been rightly inform'd of the *True State of the Case*, when he Granted the *Patent*, under the Protection whereof these *particular Men* had made themselves Masters of all this Mighty Treasure; but the King replied, That he had been *rightly informed* by Captain *Phips* of the whole matter, as it now proved, and that it was the slanders of one then present, which had, unto his Dammage, hindred him from hearkning to the Information: Wherefore he would give them, he said, no Disturbance, they might keep what they had got; but Captain *Phips*, he saw, was a Person of that Honesty, Fidelity and Ability, that he should not want his Countenance. Accordingly the King, in consideration of the Service done by him, in bringing such a Treasure into the Nation, conferr'd upon him the Honour of *Knightbood*; And if we now reckon him, *A Knight of the Golden Fleece*, the Stile might pretend unto some circumstances that would justifie it. Or call him, if you please, *The Knight of Honesty*; for it was *Honesty* with *Industry*, that Raised him; and he became a Mighty River, without the running in of Muddy Water to make him so. Reader, Now make a Pause, and behold, *One Raised by God!*

S E C T. 7.

I am willing to Employ the Testimonies of others, as much as may be, to support the Credit of my History

16 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

story: And therefore, as I have hitherto related no more than what there are *Others* enough to avouch; Thus I shall choose the Words of an Ingenious Person Printed at *London* some Years ago, to express the Sum of what remains, whose Words are these, 'It has always been Sir *William Phips's* Disposition to seek the 'Wealth of his People with as great Zeal and Unweariedness, as our *Publicans* use to seek their *Loss* and 'Ruine. At first it seems, they were in hopes to gain this Gentleman to their Party, as thinking him *Good-Natur'd*, and easie to be flattered out of his Understanding; and the more, because they had the advantage of some, no very good Treatment that Sir *William* had formerly met with, from the People and Government of *New-England*. But Sir *William* soon shewed them, that what they expected would be his 'Temptation to lead them into their *little Tricks*, he embraced as a Glorious Opportunity to shew his *Generosity* and *Greatness of Mind*; for, in Imitation of the 'Greatest Worthies that have ever been, he rather chose to join in the Defence of his Country, with some Persons, who formerly were none of his Friends, 'than become the Head of a *Faction*, to its Ruine and 'Desolation. It seems this Noble Disposition of Sir *William*, joined with that Capacity and good Success 'wherewith he hath been attended, in Raising himself by such an Occasion, as it may be, all things considered, has *never happened to any before him*, makes these 'Men apprehensive; ——— And it must needs heighten 'their trouble to see, that he neither hath, nor doth 'spare himself, nor any thing that is near and dear unto 'him, in promoting the Good of his Native Country.

When Sir *William Phips* was *per ardua Et aspera*, thus Raised into an *Higher Orb*, it might easily be thought that he could not be without Charming Temptations to take the *way on the left hand*. But as the Grace of God kept him in the midst of none of the strictest Company, unto which his Affairs daily led him, from abandoning himself to the lewd Vices of *Gaming, Drinking,*

Late Governour of New-England. 17

ing, *Swearing* and *Whoring*, which the Men that made England *to sin*, debauch'd so many of the Gentry into, and he deserved the salutations of the *Roman* Poet :

*Cum Tu, inter scabiem tantam, & Contagia Lucri,
Nil parvum sapias, & adhuc Sublimia cures :*

Thus, he was worthy to pass among the Instances of *Heroick* Vertue for that *Humility* that still Adorned him : He was *Raised*, and though he prudently accommodated himself to the *Quality* whereto he was now *Raised*, yet none could perceive him to be *Lifted up*. Or, if this were not *Heroick*, yet I will Relate one Thing more of him, that must certainly be accounted so. He had in his own Country of *New-England*, met with *Provocations*, that were enough to have Alienated any man Living that had no more than *Flesh and Blood* in him, from the Service of it ; and some that were Enemies to that Country, now lay hard at him to join with them, in their Endeavours to Ravish away their *Ancient Liberties*. But this Gentleman had studied another way to *Revenge* himself upon his Country, and that was to serve it, in all its Interests, with all of his, even with his *Estate*, his *Time*, his *Care*, his *Friends*, and his very *Life* ! The Old *Heathen* Vertue of PIETAS IN PATRIAM, or, LOVE TO ONES COUNTRY, he turned into *Christian* ; and so notably exemplified it, in all the Rest of his *Life*, that it will be an Essential *Treasure* which is to be now interwoven into all that remains of his *History*, and his *Character*. Accordingly though he had the Offers of a very Gainful Place among the *Commissioners of the Navy*, with many other Invitations to settle himself in *England*, nothing but a Return to *New-England* would content him. And whereas the *Charters of New-England* being taken away, there was a Governour Imposed upon the Territories with as *Arbitrary*, and as *Treasonable* a *Commission* perhaps, as ever was heard of ; a *Commission*, by which the Governour, with Three or Four more, none of whom were chosen

C

by

by the People, had Power to make what *Laws* they would, and Levy *Taxes*, according to their own Humours, upon the people; and he himself had Power to send the Best men in the Land, more than Ten Thousand miles out of it, as he pleased: And in the Execution of his Power, the Country was every day suffering Intollerable *Invasions* upon their *Proprieties*, yea, and the Lives of the Best Men in the Territory began to be practised upon: Sir *William Phips* applied himself to Consider what was the most significant Thing that could be done by him for that poor people, in their present Circumstances. Indeed, when King *James* offered, as he did, unto Sir *William Phips* an Opportunity to Ask what he pleased of Him, Sir *William* Generously prayed for nothing but *This, That New-England might have its Lost Priviledges Restored*. The King then Replied, *Any Thing but that!* whereupon he set himself to Consider what was the *Next Thing*, that he might Ask for the service, not of himself but of his *Country*. The Result of his Consideration was, That by Petition to the King, he Obtained, with Expence of some Hundreds of *Guineas*, a *Patent*, which constituted him *The High Sheriff of that Country*; Hoping, by his Deputies, in that Office, to supply the Country still with Conscientious Juries, which was the Only Method that the *New-Englanders* had left them, to secure any thing that was Dear unto them. Furnished with this *Patent* after he had in Company with Sir *John Narborough*, made a Second Visit unto the *Wreck* (not so advantageous as the former, for a Reason already mentioned) in his way he Returned unto *New-England*, in the Summer of the Year 1688. able, after Five Years Absence, to Entertain his Lady with some Accomplishment of his Predictions; and then Built himself a *Fair Brick House* in the very place, which wee foretold, the Reader can tell how many *Sessions* ago. But the *Infamous Government* then Rampant there, found a way wholly to put by the Execution of this *Patent*; yea, he was like to have had his *Person* assassinated in the face of the Sun, before his own Door, which,

with

Late Governour of New-England. 19

with some further Designs then in his Mind, caused him, within a few Weeks to take another Voyage for England.

S E C T. 8.

IT Would require a long Summers-Day to Relate the miseries which were come, and coming in upon poor *New-England*, by reason of the *Arbitrary Government* then Imposed on them; A *Government* wherein, as Old *Wendover* says of the Time, when *Strangers* were domineering over *Subjects* in England, *Judicia committebantur Injustis, Leges Exlegibus, Pax Discordantibus, Justitia Injuriis*; and *Foxes* were made the Administrators of Justice to the *Poultry*; yet some *Abridgement* of them is necessary for the better understanding of the Matters yet before us. Now, to make this *Abridgment* Impartial, I shall only have Recourse unto a Little Book, Printed at *London*, under the Title of *The Revolution of New-England Justified*; wherein we have a *Narrative of the Grievances* under the Male Administrations of that Government, written and signed by the chief Gentlemen of the *Governour's Council*; together with the *Sworn Testimonies* of many Good men, to prove the Several Articles of the *Declaration*, which the *New-Englanders* published against their Oppressors. It is in that Book demonstrated.

That, the Governour neglecting the Greater Number of his *Council*, did Adhere principally to the Advice of a few *Strangers*, who were persons without any *Interest*, in the Country, but of Declared *Prejudice* against it, and had plainly laid their *Designs* to make an Unreasonable *Profit* of the poor people: and four or five persons had the Absolute Rule over a *Territory*, the most Considerable of any belonging to the Crown.

That when *Laws* were proposed in the *Council*, tho the major part at any time Dissented from them, yet, if the Governour were positive, there was no fair Counting the Number of *Councillors* Consenting, or Dissenting, but the *Laws* were immediatly *Engrossed*, published and Executed.

That, This Sumo made a Law, which prohibited the Inhabitants of any Town, to meet about their Town-Affairs, above once in a year; for fear, you must Note, of their having any opportunity to Complain of Grievances.

That they made another Law, requiring all Masters of Vessels, even Shallops, and Wood-boats to give Security, that no Man should be Transported in them, except his Name had been so many Days posted up: whereby the Pockets of a few Leeches had been filled with Fees, but the whole Trade of the Country destroyed; and all Attempts to obtain a Redress of these Things obstructed; And when this Act had been strenuously opposed in Council at Boston, they carried it as far as New-York, where a Crew of them enacted it.

That, without any Assembly, they Levied on the People, a penny in the pound of all their Estates, and Twenty-pence per Head, as Poll-money, with a penny in the Pound for Goods Imported, besides a Vast Excise on Wine, Rum and other Liquors.

That, when among the Inhabitants of Ipswich, some of the Principal Persons modestly gave Reasons, why they could not choose a Commissioner to Tax the Town, until the King should first be Petitioned for the Liberty of an Assembly, they were committed unto Gaol for it, as an High Misdemeanour, and were denied an Habeas Corpus, and were drag'd many Miles out of their own County to answer it at a Court in Boston; where Jurors were pickt for the Turn, that were not Freeholders, nay, that were meer sojourners; and when the Prisoners pleaded the Priviledges of English-men, That they should not be Taxed without their own consent, they were told, That those things would not follow them to the ends of the earth: As it had been before told them in open Council, no one in the Council contradicting it, You have no more Priviledges left you, but this, that you are not bought and sold for Slaves: And in fine, they were all fined severely, and laid under great Bonds for their Good Behaviour; besides all which, the hungry Officers extorted Fees from them that amounted unto an Hundred

Late Governour of New-England. 21

dred and Threescore Pounds, whereas in *England*, upon the like Prosecution, the *Fees* would not have been Ten Pounds in all. After which fashion the *Townsmen* of many other Places were also served.

That These Men giving out, That the *Charters* being lost, all the Title that the People had unto their Lands, was lost with them; they began to *compel* the People every where, to take *Patents* for their Lands: And accordingly *Writs of Intrusion* were issued out against the chief Gentlemen in the Territory, by the Terror whereof, many were actually driven to Petition for *Patents*, that they might quietly enjoy the Lands that had been fifty or sixty Years in their possession, But for these *Patents*, there were such exorbitant Prices demanded, that Fifty Pounds could not purchase for its Owner, an Estate not worth *Two Hundred*, nor could all the Money and Moveables in the Territory have defrayed the Charges of *Patenting* the Lands, at the Hands of these *Crocodiles*: besides the considerable *Quit-Rents* for the King. Yea, the Governour caused the Lands of *particular persons* to be measured out, and given to his Creatures: And some of his Council Petitioned for the *Commons* belonging to several Towns; and the *Agents* of the Towns, going to get a *voluntary Subscription* of the Inhabitants to maintain their Title at Law, they have been dragg'd Forty or Fifty Miles, to answer as Criminals at the next Assizes; the Officers, in the mean time, extorting three Pounds *per Man*, for fetching them.

That, if these *Harpies*, at any Time, were a little out of Money, they found ways to Imprison the *best men* in the Countrey; and there appeared not the least *Information* of any Crime exhibited against them, yet they were put unto Intollerable Expences by these Greedy Oppressors, and the Benefit of an *Habeas Corpus* not allowed unto them.

That pack't and pick't *Furies* were Commonly made use of, when under a Pretended *Form of Law*, the Trouble of some Honest and Worthy Men, was aimed at; and these also were hurried out of their own Coun-

Counties to be tried, when *Furies* for the Turn, were not like to be found there. The *Greatest Rigour* being used still towards the *sobereft* sort of people whilst in the mean time the most horrid Enormities, in the World committed by Others, were overlook'd.

That, The publick Ministry of the Gospel, and All *Schools of Learning*, were discountenanced unto the Utmost.

And several more such abominable things, too notorious to be denied, even by a *Randolphian* impudence it self, are in that Book proved against that *unhappy Government*. Nor did that most Ancient Sett of the *Phanician Shepherds*, who scrud the Government of *Egypt* into their Hands, as Old *Manethon* tells us, by their *Villanies*, during the Reigns of those Tyrants, make a *Shepherd* more of an *Abomination* to the *Egyptians* in all after-Ages, than these *Wolves* under the Name of *Shepherds* have made the Remembrance of their *French Government*, an *Abomination* to all Posterity among the *New-Englanders*: A *Government*, for which, now, Reader, as fast as thou wilt, get ready this Epitaph:

Nulla quasita Scelere Potentia diuturna.

It was under the Resentments of these Things, that Sir *Williom Phips*, returned into *England*, in the year 1688. In which *Twice-Wonderful-Year*, such a *Revolution* was wonderfully accomplished upon the whole Government of the *English Nation*, that *New-England*, which had been a *Specimen* of what the whole Nation was to look for, might justly hope for a share in the General Deliverance. Upon this Occasion Sir *William* offered his best Assitances unto that Eminent Person, who a little before this Revolution, betook himself unto *White-Hall*, that he might there lay hold on all Opportunities to procure some Relief unto the Oppressions of that afflicted Country. But seeing the *New-English Affairs* in so able an Hand, he thought the best Stage of *Action* for him

Late Governour of New-England. 23

him would now be *New-England* it self; and so with certain Instructions from none of the least considerable Persons at *White-Hall*, what Service to do for his Country, in the Spring of the Year 1689 he hastened back unto it. Before he left *London*, a Messenger from the Abdicated King tender'd him the Government of *New-England*, if he would accept it: But as that excellent Attorney General Sir *William Jones*, when it was proposed that the *Plantations* might be Governed without *Assemblies*, told the King, That he could no more Grant a Commission to levy Money on his Subjects there, without their consent by an Assembly, than they could Discharge themselves from their Allegiance to the English Crown. So Sir *William Phips* thought it his Duty to refuse a Government without an Assembly, as a thing that was Treason in the very Essence of it, and instead of Petitioning the succeeding Princes, that his Patent for High Sheriff might be rendred Effectual, he joined in Petitions, that *New-England* might have its own Old Patent so Restored, as to render Ineffectual that, and all other Grants that might cut short any of it's Ancient Priviledges. But when Sir *William* arrived at *New-England*, he found a New Face of Things; For about an Hundred Indians in the Eastern parts of the Country, had unaccountably begun a War upon the English, in July, 1688. and though the Governour then in the Western Parts, had immediate Advice of it, yet he not only delayed and neglected all that was necessary for the Publick Defence, but also when he at Last returned, he manifested a most Furious Displeasure against those of the Council, and all others that had forwarded any one thing for the security of the Inhabitants; while at the same time, he dispatched some of his Creatures upon secret Errands unto *Canada*, and set at Liberty some of the most Murderous Indians which the English had seized upon.

This Conduct of the Governour, which is in a Printed Remonstrance of some of the Best Gentlemen in the Council, complained of, did extreamly dissatisfy the Suspicious People: Who were doubtless more

ex-

extream in some of their *Suspensions*, than there was any real *Occasion* for : But the Governour at length raised an Army of a *Thousand English* to Conquer this *Hundred Indians* ; and this Army, whereof some of the chief Commanders were *Papists*, underwent the Fatigues of a Long, and a cold Winter, in the most *Caucasæan* Regions of the Territory, till, without the Killing of *One Indian*, there were more of the poor People Killed, than they had Enemies there Alive ! This added, not a Little to the Dissatisfaction of the People, and it would much more have done so if they had seen what the World had not yet seen of the *Suggestions* made by the *Irish Catholics* unto the Late King, published in the Year 1691, In the *Account of the State of the Protestants in Ireland*, Licensed by the Earl of Nottingham, whereof one Article runs in these Express Terms, *That if any of the Irish cannot have their Lands in Specie, but money in Lieu, some of them may Transport themselves into America, possibly near New-England, to check the Growing Independants of that Country* : Or if they had seen what was afterwards seen, in a Letter from K. James to His Holiness, (as they stile His Foolishness) the Pope of Rome ; That it was his Full purpose to have Set up *Roman-Catholic* Religion, in the English Plantations of *America* : Tho after all, there is cause to think, that there was more made of the *Suspensions* then flying like Wild-fire about the Country, than a strong *Charity* would have Countenanced. When the People were under these *Frights*, they had got by the Edges a Little Intimation of the then Prince of *Orange's* glorious Undertaking to deliver *England*, from the Feared Evils, which were already felt by *New-England* ; but when the Person, who brought over a Copy of the Princes *Declaration*, was Imprisoned for bringing into the Country a *Treasonable Paper*, and the Governour, by his Proclamation, Required all Persons, to use their utmost-Endeavours to hinder the Landing of any whom the Prince might send thither, This put them almost out of Patience. And One thing, that plunged the more Considerate Per-

Late Governour of New-England. 25

sons in the Territory, into uneasy Thoughts, was the *Faulty Action* of some Souldiers, who upon the Common *Suspensions*, deserted their *Stations* in the Army, and caused their Friends to gather together here and there in Little Bodies, to protect from the Demands of the Governour, their poor Children and Bretheren, whom they thought bound for a *Bloody Sacrifice*: and there were also belonging to the *Rose-Frigat* some that Buzz'd surprizing stories about *Boston*, of many mischiefs to be thence expected. Wherefore, some of the Principal Gentlemen in *Boston* consulting what was to be done in this Extraordinary Juncture, They all agreed that they would, if it were possible, extinguish all Effays, in the People towards an *Insurrection*; in daily Hopes of Orders from *England* for their Safety: but that if the Country People, by any violent motions push'd the matter on so far, as to make a *Revolution* unavoidable, Then, to prevent the shedding of *Blood* by an ungoverned *Mobile*, some of the Gentlemen present, should appear at the Head of the *Action*, with a *Declaration* accordingly prepared. By the *eighteenth* of *April* 1689. Things were pushed on so far by the People, that certain Persons first Seized the Captain of the *Frigate*, and the Rumor thereof running like Lightning through *Boston*, the whole Town was immediately in Arms, with the most *Unanimous Resolution* perhaps, that ever was known to have Inspir'd any People. They then seized those Wretched Men, who by their innumerable *Extortions* and *Abuses*, had made themselves the Objects of *Universal Hatred*; not giving over till the Governour himself was become their *Prisoner*: The whole *Action* being managed without the least *Bloudshed* or *Plunder*, and with as much *Order* as ever attended any *Tumult*, it may be, in the World. Thus did the *New-Englanders* assert their Title to the Common Rights of *Englishmen*; and except the Plantations are willing to Degenerate from the Temper of True *Englishmen*, or except the *Revolution* of the whole *English Nation* be condemned, their *Action* must so far be justified. On
D their

26 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

their late *Oppressors*, now under just Confinement, they took no other satisfaction, but sent them over unto *White-Hall*, for the Justice of the King and Parliament. And when the Day for the *Anniversary Election*, by their vacated *Charter* drew near, they had many Debates into what Form they should cast the Government, which was till then, Administred by a *Committee for the Conservation of the Peace*, composed of Gentlemen, whose *Hap* it was to appear in the Head of the late *Action*; But their Debates Issued in this Conclusion, That the *Governour* and *Magistrates*, which were in Power, before the late *Usurpation*, should Resume their Places, and apply themselves unto the *Conservation of the Peace*, and put forth what *Acts of Government* the Emergencies might make needful for them, and thus to wait for further Directions from the Authority of *England*. So was there Accomplished a *Revolution*, which delivered *New-England* from grievous Oppressions, and which was most Graciously Accepted by the *King* and *Queen*, when it was Reported unto Their Majesties. But there were New Matters for Sir *William Phips*, in a little while, now to think upon.

SECT. 9.

BEHOLD the great Things which were done by the Sovereign God, for a Person, once, as little in his own Eyes, as in other Men's. All the Returns which he had hitherto made unto the God of his Mercies, were but Preliminaries to what remain to be Related. It has been the Custom in the Churches of *New-England*, still to expect from such Persons, as they admitted unto constant Communion with them, That they do not only Publickly and Solemnly Declare their Consent unto the Covenant of Grace, and particularly to those Duties of it, wherein a particular Church-state is more immediately concerned, but also first Relate unto the Pastors, and by them unto the Brethren, the special Impressions which the Grace of God has made upon their Souls in bringing them to this Consent. By this Custom and Caution, though they cannot

Late Governour of New-England. 27

not keep *Hypocrites* from their Sacred Fellowship, yet they go as far as they can, to render and preserve themselves *Churches of Saints*, and they do further very much *Edifie one another*. When Sir *William Phips* was now returned unto his own *House*, he began to bethink himself, like *David*, concerning the *House of the God*, who had surrounded him with so many Favours in *his own*; and accordingly he applied himself unto the *North Church* in *Boston*, that with his open Profession of his hearty Subjection to the *Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ*, he might have the *Ordinances* and the *Priviledges* of the *Gospel*, added unto his other Enjoyments. One thing that quickened his Resolution to do what might be in this Matter expected from him, was a Passage which he heard from a Minister, Preaching on the Title of the *Fifty First Psalm*: *To make a publick and an open Profession of Repentance, is a thing not mis-becoming the greatest Man alive. It is an Honour to be found among the Repenting People of God, though they be in Circumstances never so full of Suffering. A famous Knight going with other Christians to be Crowned with Martyrdom, observed, That his Fellow-Sufferers were in Chains, from which the Sacrificers had, because of his Quality, excus'd him; whereupon he demanded, that he might wear Chains as well as they. For, said he, I would be a Knight of that Order too; There is among our selves a repenting People of God, who by their Confessions at their Admissions to His Table, do signalize their being so; and Thanks be to God, that we have so little of suffering in our Circumstances. But if any Man count himself grown too big to be a Knight of that Order, the Lord Jesus Christ Himself, will one Day be ashamed of that Man!* Upon this Excitation, Sir *William Phips* made his Address unto a *Congregational-Church*, and he had therein One Thing to propound unto himself, which few Persons of his Age, so well satisfied in *Infant-Baptism* as he was, have then to Ask for. Indeed, in the Primitive Times, although the *Lawfulness* of *Infant-Baptism*, or the Precept and Pattern of *Scripture* for it, was never so much as once made a Question, yet we find *Baptism* was frequently delayed by Persons, upon several superstitious

28 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

and unreasonable Accounts, against which we have such Fathers as *Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Basil, Chrysostom, Ambrose*, and others, employing a variety of Argument. But Sir *William Phips* had hitherto delayed his *Baptism*, because the Years of his Child-hood were spent where there was no settled Minister, and therefore, he was now not only willing to attain a good Satisfaction of his own Internal and Practicall *Christianity*, before his receiving that *Mark* thereof, but he was also willing to receive it among those *Christians*, that seemed most sensible of the *Bonds* which it laid them under. Offering himself therefore, first unto the *Baptism*, and then unto the *Supper* of the Lord, he presented unto the Pastor of the Church, with his own *Hand-writing*, the following *Instrument*; which because of the Exemplary *Devotion* therein expressed, and the Remarkable *History* which it gives of several Occurrences in his Life, I will here Faithfully Transcribe it, without adding so much as one Word unto it.

‘ The First of God’s making me sensible of my *Sins*,
‘ was in the year 1674. by Hearing your Father
‘ Preach concerning, *the Day of Trouble near*. It
‘ pleased Almighty God to smite me with a Deep sence
‘ of my miserable Condition, who had Lived until
‘ then, in the World, and had *Done nothing for God*.
‘ I did then begin to think *What I should Do to be saved?*
‘ and did bewail my *Youthful Days*, which I had spent
‘ *in vain*: I did think that I would begin to mind
‘ The *Things of God*. Being then some time, under
‘ your Father’s Ministry, much troubled with my
‘ *Burden*, but thinking on that Scripture, *Come unto*
‘ *me, you that are weary and heavy Laden, and I will Give*
‘ *you Rest*. I had some Thoughts of Drawing as near to
‘ the Communion of the Lord *Jesus* as I could, But
‘ the Ruines, which the *Indian Wars* brought on my
‘ Affairs, and the Entanglements which my following
‘ the *Sea*, laid upon me, hindred my pursuing the
‘ welfare of my own Soul, as I ought to have done.
‘ At length God was pleased to smile upon my *Outward*
‘ *Concerns*

Late Governour of New-England. 29

Concerns. The various *Providences* both Merciful and Afflictive, which attended me in my Travels were sanctified unto me, to make me *Acknowledge God in all my Ways.* I have Divers Times been in Danger of my *Life*, and I have been brought to see that I owe my *Life* to Him that has given a *Life* so often to me : I thank God, He hath brought me to see my self altogether unhappy, without an Interest in the Lord Jesus Christ, and to close heartily with him, desiring Him to Execute *All His Offices* on my Behalf. I have now, for some Time, been under serious *Resolutions*, that I would avoid whatever I should know to be Displeasing unto God, and that I would *Serve Him all the Days of my Life.* I Believe *No man will Repent the Service of such a Master.* I find my self unable to Keep such *Resolutions*, but my Serious *Prayers* are to the Most High, that *He* would enable me. God hath done so much for me that I am sensible, I owe my self to Him ; *To Him would I give my self, and all that He has given to me.* I can't express His Mercies to me. But, as soon as ever God had smiled upon me, with a Turn of my Affairs, I laid my self under the *VOWS* of the Lord *That I would set my self to serve His People, and Churches here unto the Utmost of my Capacity.* I have had great Offers made me in *England* ; But the Churches of *New-England* were those, which my Heart was most set upon. I knew, *that if God had a People any where, it was here :* and I *Resolved To Rise and fall with them ;* neglecting very Great Advantages for my Worldly Intrest, that I might come and enjoy the Ordinances of the Lord Jesus here. It has been my Trouble, that since I came home I have made no more Hast to get into the *House of God*, where I desire to be : Especially having Heard so much about the *Evil* of that Omission. I can Do little for God, but I desire to Wait upon Him in His Ordinances, and to Live to His Honour and Glory. My being Born in a part of the Country, where I had not in my *Infancy* enjoyed the *First Sacrament* of the *New-Testament*, has been somthing of a *Stumbling Block* unto me. But though, I have had Profers of *Baptism*

elsewhere made unto me, I Resolved rather to Deferr it, untill I might enjoy it in the Communion of these Churches, And I have had awful Impressions from those Words of the Lord Jesus, in Matth. 8. 38. *Who-so ever shall be ashamed of me, and of my Words, of him also shall the Son of Man be ashamed.* When God had Blessed me with something of the World, I had no Trouble so Great as this; *Lest it should not be in Mercy*; and I Trembled at Nothing more than being *put off with a Portion here.* That I may make sure of *Better Things* I now offer my self unto the Communion of this Church of the Lord J E S U S.

Accordingly on March 23. 1690. after he had in the Congregation of North-Boston given himself up, *first unto the Lord, and then unto His People,* he was Baptized, and so Received into the Communion of the Faithful there.

S E C T. 10.

SEVERAL Times, about, before and after *this Time,* did I hear him express himself unto this purpose: *I have no need at all, to look after any further Advantages for my self in this World; I may sit still at home, if I will, and enjoy my Ease for the rest of my Life; but I believe that I should offend God in my doing so: For I am now in the prime of my Age and Strength, and, I thank God, I can undergo Hardship: He only knows how long I have to live; but I think 'tis my Duty to venture my Life in doing of Good, before an useless Old Age comes upon me: Wherefore I will now expose my self, while I am able, and as far as I am able, for the Service of my Country: I was born for Others, as well as my self.* I say, many a time have I heard him so express himself: And agreeable to this Generous Disposition and Resolution, was all the rest of his Life. About this time New-England was miserably Briar'd, in the Perplexities of an *Indian War*; and the Salvages, in the East part of the Country, *Issuing*

Late Governour of New-England. 31

suuing out from their Inaccessible *Swamps*, had for many Months made their cruel Depredations upon the poor *English* Planters, and Surprized many of the Plantations on the Frontiers, into Ruin. The *New-Englanders* found, that while they continued only on the *Defensive* part, their *People* were thinned, and their *Treasures* wasted, without any hopes of seeing a Period put unto the *Indian Tragedies*; nor could an Army greater than *Xerxes's* have easily come at the seemingly contemptible Handful of *Tawnies*, which made all this Disturbance; Or, *Tamerlain*, the greatest Conqueror that ever the World saw, have made it a Business of no Trouble to have Conquered them: They found; that they were like to make no Weapons reach their Enswamped Adversaries, except Mr. *Milton* could have shown them how

*To have pluckt up the Hills with all their Load,
Rocks, Waters, Woods, and by their shaggy tops,
Up-lifting, bore them in their hands, Therewith
The Rebel Host to've over-whelm'd——*

So it was thought that the *English* Subjects, in these Regions of *America*, might very properly take this occasion, to make an attempt upon the *French*, and by Reducing them under the *English* Government, put an Eternal Period at once, unto all their Troubles from the *Frenchified Pagans*. This was a Motion urged by Sir *William Phips*, unto the General Court of the *Massachusetts-Colony*; and he then made unto the Court a brave Offer of his own Person and Estate, for the Service of the Publick in their present Extremity, as far as they should see cause to make use thereof. Whereupon they made a *First Essay* against the *French*, by sending a Naval Force, with about Seven Hundred Men, under the Conduct of Sir *William Phips*, against *L'Acady* and *Nova Scotia*; of which Action we shall give only this General and Summary Account; That Sir *William Phips* set Sail from *Nantascot*, April 28. 1690. Arriving at *Port-Royal*, May 11. and had the Fort quickly Surrender'd into his Hands by the *French* Enemy, who despaired of holding

out against him. He then took Possession of that Province for the *English* Crown, and having Demolished the Fort, and sent away the Garrison, Administred unto the Planters an *Oath of Allegiance* to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, he left what Order he thought convenient for the Government of the Place, until further Order should be taken by the Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts-Colony*, unto whom he returned *May* 30, with an acceptable Account of his Expedition, and accepted a Place among the *Magistrates* of that Colony, to which the *Free-Men* had chosen him, at their *Anniversary Election*, two Days before,

Thus the Country, once given by King *James* the First, unto Sir *William Alexander*, was now by another Sir *William*, recovered out of the Hands of the *French*, who had afterwards got the Possession of it; and there was added unto the *English Empire*, a Territory, whereof no Man can Read *Monsieur Denys's Description Geographique & Historique des Costes de l' Amerique Septentrionale*, but he must reckon the Conquest of a Region so Improvable, for *Lumber*, for *Fishing*, for *Mines*, and for *Furrs*, a very considerable *Service*. But if a smaller *Service* has, e'er-now, ever merited a *Knighthood*, Sir *William* was willing to Repeat his Merits, by Actions of the greatest *Service* possible:

Nil Actum credens, si, quid superesset agendum.

SECT. II.

THE Addition of this *French* Colony to the *English* Dominion, was no more than a *little step* towards a greater *Action*, which was first in the Design of Sir *William Phips*, and which was, indeed, the *Greatest Action* that ever the *New-Englanders* Attempted. There was a time, when the *Philistines* had made some Inroads and Assaults from the *North-ward*, upon the Skirts of *Goshen*, where the *Israelites* had a Residence, before their coming out of *Egypt*, The *Israelites*, and especially that

Active

Late Governour of New-England. 33

Active Colony of the *Ephraimites*, were willing to Revenge these Injuries upon their wicked Neighbours; they presumed themselves Powerful and Numerous enough to Encounter the *Canaanites*, even in their own Country; and they formed a brisk *Expedition*, but came off unhappy Losers in it; the *Jewish Rabbins* tell us, they lost no less than *Eight Thousand Men*. The Time was not yet come; there was more *Hast* than good *Speed* in the Attempt; they were not enough concerned for the *Counsel* and *Presence* of God in the Undertaking; they mainly propounded the *Plunder* to be got among a People, whose Trade was that, wherewith *Beasts* enriched them; so the Business miscarried. This History the Psalmist going to recite, says, *I will utter dark Sayings of old*. Now that what befel Sir *William Phips*, with his whole Country of *New-England*, may not be almost forgotten among *the dark Sayings of old*, I will here give the true Report of a very memorable Matter.

It was *Canada* that was the chief Source of *New-England's* Miseries. There was the main Strength of the *French*; There the *Indians* were mostly supplied with Ammunition; Thence Issued Parties of Men, who uniting with the Salvages, barbarously murdered many Innocent *New-Englanders*, without any Provocation on the *New-English* part, except this, that *New-England* had Proclaimed King *William*, and *Q. Mary*, which they said were *Usurpers*; And, as *Cato* could make no Speech in the Senate, without that Conclusion, *Delenda est Carthago*; so it was the general Conclusion of all that Argued sensibly, about the safety of that Country, *Canada must be Reduced*. It then became the concurring Resolution of all *New-England*, with *New-York*, to make a Vigorous Attack upon *Canada* at once, both by Sea and Land.

And a Fleet was accordingly fitted out from *Boston*, under the Command of Sir *William Phips*, to fall upon *Quebeque*, the chief City of *Canada*. They waited until *August* for some Stores of War from *England*, whither they had sent for that purpose, early in the Spring; but

but none at last arriving, and the Season of the Year being so far spent, Sir *William* could not, without many Discouragements upon his Mind, proceed in a Voyage, for which he found himself so poorly provided. However, the Ships being taken up, and the Men on board, his usual Courage would not permit him to Desist from the Enterprize; but he set Sail from *Hull* near *Boston*, August 9. 1690. with a Fleet of Thirty two Ships and Tenders; whereof one, called *the Six Friends*, carrying Forty Four great Guns, and Two Hundred Men, was *Admiral*. Sir *William* dividing the Fleet into several Squadrons, whereof there was *the Six Friends*, Captain *Gregory Sugars* Commander, with Eleven more of the *Admiral's* Squadron, of which one was also a Capital Ship, namely, *The John and Thomas*, Captain *Thomas Carter* Commander; Of the *Vice-Admirals*, the *Swan*, Captain *Thomas Gilbert* Commander, with Nine more; Of the *Rear-Admirals*, the *America-Merchant*, Captain *Joseph Eldridge* Commander, with Nine more; and above Twenty Hundred Men on Board the whole Fleet: He so happily managed his Charge, that they every one of them Arrived safe at Anchor before *Quebeck*, although they had as dangerous, and almost untrodden a *Path*, to take *Un-Piloted*, for the whole Voyage, as ever any Voyage was undertaken with. Some small *French Prizes* he took by the way, and set up *English* Colours upon the Coast, here and there, as he went along; and before the Month of *August* was out, he had spent several Days as far onward of his Voyage, as between the Island of *Antecosta*, and the *Main*. But when they entred the mighty River of *Canada*, such adverse Winds encountered the Fleet, that they were *Three Weeks* dispatching the way, which might otherwise have been gone in *Three Days*, and it was the Fifth of *October*, when a fresh Breeze coming up at *East*, carried them along by the *North Shore*, up to the Isle of *Orleans*; and then haling *Southerly*, they passed by the *East* end of that Island, with the whole Fleet approaching the City of *Quebeck*. This loss of Time, which made it so late before the Fleet could get into the Country, where a cold and
fierce

Late Governour of New-England. 35

fierce Winter was already very far advanced, gave no very good Prospect of Success to the Expedition; but that which gave a much worse, was a most horrid Mismanagement, which had, the mean while, happened in the West. For a Thousand English from New-York, and Albany, and Connecticut, with Fifteen Hundred Indians, were to have gone over-Land, in the West, and fallen upon Mount-Royal, while the Fleet was to Visit Quebec in the East; and no Expedition could have been better laid than This, which was thus contrived. But those English Companies in the West, marching as far as the great Lake that was to be passed, found their Canoes not provided, according to expectation; and the Indians also were [How? God knows, and will one Day Judge!] dissuaded from Joining with the English; and the Army met with such Discouragements, that they returned.

Had this Western Army done but so much as continued at the Lake, the Diversion thereby given to the French Quartered at Mount-Royal, would have rendered the Conquest of Quebec ealie and certain; but the Governour of Canada being Informed of the Retreat made by the Western-Army, had opportunity, by the cross Winds that kept back the Fleet, unhappily to get the whole Strength of all the Country into the City, before the Fleet could come up unto it. However, none of these Difficulties hindred Sir William Phips from sending on Shoar the following Summons, on Monday, the Sixth of October.

Sir

Sir William Phips Knight, General and Commander in Chief, in and over Their Majesties Forces of New-England, by Sea and Land;

To Count Frontenac, Lieutenant-General and Governour for the French King, at Canada; or in his Absence to his Deputy, or Him, or Them, in Chief Command at Quebeck.

‘ **T**HE War between the Two Crowns of *England*
 ‘ and *France*, doth not only sufficiently Warrant,
 ‘ but the Destruction made by the *French* and *Indians*,
 ‘ under your Command and Encouragement, upon the
 ‘ Persons and Estates of Their Majesties Subjects of
 ‘ *New-England*, without Provocation on their part,
 ‘ hath put them under the Necessity of this Expedition,
 ‘ for their own Security and Satisfaction. And al-
 ‘ though the Cruelties and Barbarities used against
 ‘ them, by the *French* and *Indians*, might upon the pre-
 ‘ sent Opportunity, prompt unto a severe *Revenge*, yet
 ‘ being desirous to avoid all Inhumane and Unchri-
 ‘ stian-like Actions, and to prevent shedding of Blood,
 ‘ as much as may be;

‘ I the aforesaid *Sir William Phips*, Knight, do here-
 ‘ by, in the Name, and in the Behalf of Their Most
 ‘ Excellent Majesties, *William* and *Mary*, King and
 ‘ Queen of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, De-
 ‘ fenders of the Faith; and by Order of Their said
 ‘ Majesties Government of the *Massachusetts-Colony*, in
 ‘ *New-England*, Demand a present Surrender of your
 ‘ Forts and Castles, undemolished, and the King’s, and
 ‘ other Stores unimbezzelled, with a seasonable Delive-
 ‘ ry

Late Governour of New-England. 37

‘ry of all Captives; together with a Surrender of all
‘ your Persons and Estates, to my Dispose: Upon the
‘ doing whereof you may expect Mercy from me, as a
‘ *Christian*, according to what shall be found for Their
‘ Majesties Service, and the Subjects Security. Which
‘ if you Refuse forth-with to do, I am come provided,
‘ and am Resolved by the help of God, in whom I
‘ trust, by Force of Arms, to Revenge all Wrongs and
‘ Injuries offered, and bring you under Subjection to
‘ the Crown of *England*; and when too late, make you
‘ wish, you had accepted of the Favour tendered.

‘ Your Answer Positive in an Hour, returned by your
‘ own Trumpet, with the Return of mine, is Requi-
‘ red, upon the Peril that will ensue.

The Summons being Delivered unto Count *Fronte-
nac*, his Answer was;

‘ That Sir *William Phips*, and those with him, were
‘ *Hereticks*, and *Traitors* to their King, and had taken
‘ up with that *Usurper*, the Prince of *Orange*, and had
‘ made a *Revolution*, which if it had not been made,
‘ *New-England* and the *French* had been *all One*; and
‘ that no other Answer was to be expected from him,
‘ but what should be from the Mouth of his *Cannon*.

General *Phips*, now saw, that it must cost him
Dry Blowes, and that he must Roar his Perswasions
out of the Mouths of *Great Guns*, to make himself Ma-
ster of a City, which had certainly Surrender’d it self
unto him, if he had arrived but a little sooner, and
Summon’d it before the coming down of Count *Fronte-
nac* with all his Forces, to command the oppressed Peo-
ple there, who would have been, many of them, glad-
der of coming under the *English* Government. Where-
fore on the Seventh of *October*, the *English*, that were
for the Land-Service, went on Board their lesser Ves-
sels, in order to Land; among which there was a Bark,
wherein was Captain *Ephraim Savage*, with sixty Men,
that

that ran a Ground upon the North-Shoar, near two Miles from *Quebeck*, and could not get off, but lay in the same Distress that *Scava* did, when the *Britans* poured in their Numbers upon the *Bark*, wherein he, with a few more Soldiers of *Cæsar's* Army, were by the disadvantage of the *Tide*, left ashoar: The *French*, with *Indians*, that saw them ly there, came near, and Fired thick upon them, and were bravely Answered; and when two or three Hundred of the Enemy, at last planted a Field-Piece against the *Bark*, while the Wind blew so hard, that no help could be sent unto his Men, the General Advanced so far, as to Level two or three great Guns, conveniently enough to make the Assailants Fly; and when the Flood came, the *Bark* happily got off, without the hurt of one Man aboard. But so violent was the Storm of Wind all this Day, that it was not possible for them to Land, until the Eighth of *October*; when, the *English* counting every Hour to be a Week, until they were come to Battle, vigorously got ashoar, designing to enter the East-end of the City. The *Small-Pox* had got into the Eleet, by which Distemper prevailing, the number of Effective Men which now went ashoar, under the Command of Lieutenant General *Walley*, did not amount unto more than Fourteen Hundred; but Four Companies of these were drawn out as *Forlorns*, whom, on every side, the Enemy fired at; nevertheless, the *English* Rushing with a shout, at once upon them, caused them to Run, as fast as Legs could carry them: So that the whole *English* Army, expressing as much Resolution as was in *Cæsar's* Army, when they first landed on *Britain*, in spite of all opposition from the Inhabitants, marched on until it was dark, having first killed many of the *French*, with the loss of but four Men of their own; and frightened about seven or eight Hundred more of the *French* from an Ambuscado, where they lay ready to fall upon them. But some thought, that by staying in the Valley, they took the way never to get over the Hill: And yet for them to stay where they were, till the smaller Vessels came up the River, before them, so far

Late Governour of New-England. 39

as by their Guns to secure the Passage of the Army, in their *getting over*, was what the Council of War had ordered. But the Violence of the *Weather*, with the General's being sooner plunged into the heat of Action than was intended, hindred the smaller Vessels from attending that Order. And this Evening, a *French* Deserter coming to them, assured them, that Nine Hundred Men were on their March from *Quebeck* to meet them, already passed a little Rivulet that lay at the end of the City, but seeing them Land so suddenly, and so valiantly run down those that first Encountred them, they had Retreated: Nevertheless, That Count *Frontenac* was come down to *Quebeck*, with no fewer than *Thirty Hundred* Men to defend the City, having left but *fifty* Souldiers to defend *Mount Real*, because they had understood, that the *English* Army on that side, were gone back to *Albany*. Notwithstanding this dispiriting Information, the common Souldiers did with much vehemency Beg and Pray, that they might be Led on, professing, that they had rather lose their Lives on the spot, than fail of taking the City; but the more wary Commanders, considered how rash a thing it would be, for about Fourteen Hundred Raw Men, tired with a long Voyage, to assault more than Twice as many Expert Souldiers, who were *Galli in suo sterquilinio*, or *Cocks Crowing on their own Durehil*. They were, in truth, now gotten into the grievous Case, which *Livy* describes, when he says, *Ibi grave est Bellum gerere, ubi non consistendi aut procedendi locus; quocunque aspexeris Hostilia sunt omnia*; Look on one side or 'tother, all was full of *Hostile Difficulties*. And indeed, whatever Popular Clamour has been made against any of the Commanders, it is apparent, that they acted considerately, in making a *Pause* upon what was before them; and they did a greater kindness to their Souldiers than they have since been thanked for. But in this time, General *Phips* and his Men of War, with their *Canvass*, *Wings*, flew close up unto the West-end of the City, and there he behaved himself with the Greatest Bravery imaginable; nor did the other Men of War forbear to

to follow his brave Example : who never discovered himself more in his Element, than when (as the Poet expresseth it,)

*The Slaughter-Breathing Brass grew hot, and spoke
In Flames of Lightning, and in Clouds of Smoke :*

He lay within *Pistol-shot* of the Enemies Cannon, and beat them from thence, and very much Batter'd the Town, having his own Ship shot through in an hundred places, with *four and twenty Pounds*, and yet, but one Man was killed, and only two mortally wounded aboard him, in this hot Engagement, which continued the greatest part of that Night, and several hours of the Day ensuing. But wondring, that he saw no *Signal* of any Effective Action ahoar, at the East end of the City, he sent that he might know the condition of the Army there ; and received Answer, That several of the Men were so frozen in their Hands and Feet, as to be disabled from service, and others were apace falling sick of the *Small-Pox*. Whereupon he order'd them on Board immediately to refresh themselves, and he intended then, to have renew'd his Attack upon the City, in the Method of Landing his Men in the face of it, under the shelter of his Great Guns ; having to that purpose, provided also, a considerable number of well-shap'd *Wheel-Barrows*, each of them carrying Two *Petarrado's* a piece, to March before the Men and make the Enemy fly, with as much Contempt as overwhelmed the *Philistines*, when undone by *Foxes* with *Torches* in their Tails ; (remembred in an Anniversary Diversion, every *April*, among the Ancient *Romans*, taught by the *Phenicians*.)

While the Measures to be further taken, were debating, there was made an Exchange of Prisoners, the *English* having taken several of the *French* in divers actions, and the *French* having in their Hands divers of the *English*, whom the *Indians* had brought Captives unto them. The Army now on Board, continued still Resolute and Courageous, and on fire, for the Conquest of

Quebeck,

Late Governour of New-England. 41

Quebeck, or if they had missed of doing it by storm, they knew that they might, by possessing themselves of the Isle of *Orleans*, in a little while, have starved them out. Incredible Damage they might indeed, have done to the Enemy, before they Embarked, but they were willing to preserve the more undefensible parts of the Country, in such a condition, as might more sensibly encourage the Submission of the Inhabitants, unto the Crown of *England*, whose Protection was desired by so many of them. And still they were loth to Play for any lesser Game than the immediate Surrender of *Quebeck* it self. But e're a full *Council of War* could conclude the next steps to be taken, a violent *Storm* arose, that separated the Fleet, and the *Snow* and the Cold became so extreme, that they could not continue in those Quarters any longer.

Thus, by an evident *Hand of Heaven*, sending one unavoidable Disaster after another, as well-formed an Enterprize, as perhaps was ever made by the *New-Englanders*, most unhappily miscarried; and General *Phips* underwent a very mortifying Disappointment of a Design, which his Mind was, as much as ever any, set upon. He arrived *Nov. 19.* at *Boston*, where, although he found himself, as well as the Publick, thrown into very *uneasie* circumstances, yet he had this to comfort him, That neither his Courage, nor his Conduct could reasonably have been Taxed, nor could it be said that any Man could have done more than he did, under so many *Embarassments of his Business*, as he was to fight withal. He also relieved the uneasiness of his Mind, by considering, that his Voyage to *Canada*, diverted from his Country an *Horrible Tempest* from an Army of *Boss-Lopers*, which had prepar'd themselves, as 'tis affirmed, that Winter, to fall upon the *New-Englisch Colonies*, and by falling on them, would probably have laid no little part of the Country desolate. And he further considered, That in this matter, like *Israel* engaging against *Benjamin*, it may be, we saw yet, but the *beginning* of the matter: And that the way to *Canada* now being learnt, the foundation of a Victory o-

ver it might be laid, in what had been already done. Unto this purpose likewise, he was heard sometimes applying the Remarkable Story, reported by *Bradwardine*.

‘ There was an *Hermit*, who being vexed with blasphemous Injections about the Justice and Wisdom of Divine Providence, an Angel in Human Shape, invited him to Travel with him, *That he might see the hidden Judgments of God*. Lodging all Night at the House of a Man, who kindly entertain’d them, the Angel took away a valuable Cup from their Host, at their going away in the Morning, and bestowed this Cup upon a very wicked Man, with whom they Lodged the Night ensuing. The third Night they were most lovingly Treated, at the House of a very Godly Man, from whom, when they went in the Morning, the Angel meeting a Servant of his, threw him over the Bridge into the Water, where he was drowned. And the Fourth, being in like manner, most courteously Treated, at the House of a very Godly Man, the Angel before Morning, did unaccountably kill his only Child. The Companion of the Journey, being wonderfully offended at these things, would have left his *Guardian*. But the Angel then thus addressed him, *Understand now, the secret Judgments of God! The first man that entertained us, did inordinately affect that Cup, which I took from him; ’twas for the advantage of his interiour, that I took it away, and I gave it unto the impious man, as the present reward of his good Works, which is all the reward that he is like to have. As for our Third Host, the Servant which I slew, had formed a bloody Design, to have slain his Master, but now, you see, I have saved the Life of the Master, and prevented something of growth unto the eternal punishment of the Murderer. As for our Fourth Host, before his Child was Born unto him, he was a very liberal and bountiful Person, and he did abundance of good with his Estate; but when he saw he was like to leave such an Heir, he grew covetous; wherefore the Soul of the Infant is Translated into Paradise, but the occasion of sin is, you see, mercifully taken away from the Parent.*

Thus

Late Governour of New-England. 43

Thus General *Phips*, though he had been used unto *Diving* in his time, would say, *That the things which had befallen him in this Expedition, were too deep to be Dived into!*

S E C T. 12.

FROM The time that General *Pen* made his Attempt upon *Hispaniola*, with an Army that, like the *New English* Forces, against *Canada*, miscarried after an Expectation of having Little to Do, but to *Possess and Plunder*; Even to this Day, the General Disaster which hath attended, almost every Attempt of the *European* Colonies in *America*, to make any Considerable Encroachments upon their Neighbours, is a matter of some close Reflection. But of the Disaster, which now befell poor *New-England*, in particular, every one will easily Conclude, none of the least Consequences to have been, the *Extreme Debts*, which that Country was now plunged into; there being *Forty Tkousand* pounds, more or less, now to be paid, and not a Penny in the Treasury to pay it withal. In this *Extrernity*, they presently found out an *Expedient*, which may serve as an *Example*, for any People, in other parts of the World, whose Distresses may call for a sudden supply of *Money* to carry them through any Important *Expedition*. The *General Assembly* first pass'd an *Act*, for the Levying of such a sum of *Money* as was wanted, within such a Term of Time, as was judged convenient; and this *Act* was a *Fund*, on which the *Credit* of such a Sum, should be rendered *passable* among the people. Hereupon, there was appointed an Able and Faithful *Committee* of Gentlemen, who printed from *Copper-Plates*, a just Number of *Bills*, and Florished, Indented, and Contrived them, in such a manner, as to make it Impossible to Counterfeit any of them, without a Speedy Discovery of the *Counterfeit*: besides which, they were all Signed by the Hands of *Three*, belonging to that *Committee*. These *Bills* being of several Sums, from *Two-shillings*, to *Ten pounds*, did confess the *Massa-*

44 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

Massachusetts-Colony, to be *Endebted* unto the Person, in whose Hands they were, the Sums therein expressed; and Provision was made, that if any *particular Bills*, were Irrecoverably Lost or Torn, or Worn by the Owners, they might be Recruited without any Damage to the *whole in General*. The *publick Debts* to the *Sailors* and *Souldiers*, now upon the point of *Mutiny*, (for, *Arma Tenenti, Omnia dat, qui Jussa negat!*) were in these *Bills* paid immediatly: but that further *Credit* might be given thereunto, it was Ordered that they should be Accepted by the Treasurer, and all Officers that were Subordinate unto him, in all *publick Payments*, at Five *per cent.* more than the Value expressed in them. The People knowing that the *Tax-Act*, would, in the Space of Two years at Least, fetch into the Treasury, as much as all the *Bills of Credit*, thence emitted would amount unto, were willing to be furnished with *Bills*, wherein, 'twas their Advantage to pay their *Taxes*, rather than in any other *Specie*, and so the *Sailors* and *Souldiers* put off their *Bills*, instead of *Money*, to those, with whom they had any Dealings, and they *circulated* through all the Hands in the Colony, pretty Comfortably. Had the Government been so Settled, that there had not bin any Doubt of any Obstruction, or Diversion to be given to the Prosecution of the *Tax-Act*, by a *Total Change* of their affairs, then Depending at *White-Hall*, 'Tis very certain, that the *Bills of Credit* had been better than so much ready *Silver*; yea, the *Invention* had been of more Use to the *New-Englanders*, than if all their *Copper Mines* had been opened, or the Mountains of *Peru* had been Removed into these parts of *America*. The *Massachusetts Bills of Credit*, had been like the *Bank-Bills* of *Venice*, where though there were not, perhaps, a *Ducat* of Money in the Bank. yet the *Bills* were esteemed more than Twenty *per cent.* better than Money, among the Body of the People, in all their Dealings. But many People being afraid, that the Government would in Half a year, be so Overturned, as to Convert their *Bills, of Credit* altogether into *Wast-paper*, the *Credit* of them was thereby very much impaired; and they, who first received them, could

Late Governour of New-England. 45

could make them yield little more than *fourteen* or *sixteen* shillings in the Pound; from whence there arose those Idle *Suspensions* in the Heads of many more Ignorant and Unthinking Folks concerning the Use thereof, which to the Incredible Detriment of the Province, are not wholly laid aside unto this Day. However, this Method of paying the *Publick Debts*, did no less than save the Publick, from a perfect Ruine: and e're many Months were expired, the Governour and Council had the pleasure of seeing, the *Treasurer* burn before their Eyes, many a Thousand Pounds Worth of the *Bills*, which had passed about until they were again Returned unto the Treasury, but before their being returned, had happily and honestly, without a farthing of *silver Coin*, discharged the *Debts*, for which they were intended. But that which helped these *Bills* unto much of their *Credit*, was the generous offer of many worthy men in *Boston*, to run the Risque of selling their *Goods* reasonably for them: and of these, I think, I may say, that General *Phips* was in some sort the *Leader*; who at the very Beginning, meerly to Recommend the *Credit* of the *Bills* unto other Persons, cheerfully laid down a Considerable Quantity of *ready Money* for an equivalent parcel of them. And thus in a little time, the Country waded through the Terrible *Debts* which it was fallen into: In *this*, though unhappy enough, yet not so unhappy, as in the *Loss of men*, by which the Country was at the same Time consumed. 'Tis True, there was very *Little Blood* spilt in the Attacque made upon *Quebeck*; and there was a *Great Hand* of Heaven seen in it. The Churches, upon the Call of the Government, not only observed a General *Fast* through the Colony, for the Welfare of the Army sent unto *Quebeck*, but also kept the *Wheel of Prayer* in a *Continual motion*, by Repeated and Successive Agreements, for Days of *Prayer* with *Fasting*, in their several Vicinities. On these Days the Ferventest Prayers were sent up to the *God of Armies*, for the safety and success of the *New-Englisch* Army gone to *Canada*; and though I never understood that any of the Faithful did in their *Prayers* arise to any assurance, that the Expe-
di.

dition should prosper in all respects, yet they sometimes in their Devotions on these Occasions, uttered their Perswasion, that Almighty God had heard them in this thing, *that the English Army should not fall by the hands of the French Enemy.* Now they were marvellously delivered from doing so; though the Enemy had such unexpected Advantages over them, yea, and though the horrid *Winter* was come on so far, that it is a Wonder the *English Fleet*, then Riding in the River of *Canada*, fared any better than the Army which a while since, besieged *Poland*, wherein, of *seventy thousand* Invaders, no less than *forty thousand* suddenly perished by the severity of the cold, albeit it were but the Month of *November* with them. Nevertheless, a kind of *Camp-Fever*, as well as the *Small-Pox*, got into the Fleet, whereby some Hundreds came short of Home. And besides this Calamity, it was also to be lamented, That although the most of the Fleet arrived safe at *New-England*, whereof some Vessels indeed were driven off by Cross-Winds as far as the *West-Indies*, before such Arrival; yet there were three or four Vessels which totally miscarried: *One* was never heard of, a *second* was Wreck'd, but most of the Men were saved by another in company; a *third* was Wreck'd so, that all the Men were either starved or drown'd, or slain by the *Indians*, except *one*, which a long while after, was, by means of the *French*, restored: And a *fourth*, met with Accidents, which it may be, my Reader will, by and by pronounce, not unworthy to have been Related.

A *Brigantine*, whereof Captain *John Rainsford* was Commander, having about Threescore Men aboard, was in a very stormy Night, *Octob. 28, 1690*, stranded upon the desolate and hideous Island of *Anticosta*, an Island in the mouth of the Mighty River of *Canada*; but through the singular Mercy of God unto them, the Vessel did not, immediately, stave to pieces, which if it had happened, they must have, one way or another quickly perished. There they lay for divers days, under abundance of bitter Weather, trying and hoping to get off their Vessel; and they solemnly set apart,

one

Late Governour of New-England. 47

one Day for *Prayer* with *Fasting*, to obtain the smiles of Heaven upon them, in the midst of their Distresses; and this especially, That if they must go ashoar, they might not by any stress of Storm, lose the *Provisions* which they were to carry with them. They were, at last convinced, that they must continue no longer on Board, and therefore, by the seventh of *November*, they applied themselves, all Hands, to get their *Provisions* ashoar upon the dismal *Island*, where they had nothing but a sad and cold Winter before them; which being accomplished, their Vessel *oversett* so, as to take away from them all expectation of getting off the Island in it. Here they now built themselves Nine small *Chimney-lesse things* that they called *Houses*; to this purpose employing such *Boards* and *Planks* as they could get from their shattered Vessel, with the help of *Trees*, whereof that squalid Wilderness had enough to serve them; and they built a particular *Store-house*, wherein they carefully Lodg'd and Lock'd the poor quantity of *Provisions*, which though scarce enough to serve a very abstemious Company for *one Month*, must now be so stinted, as to hold out *six or seven*, and the Allowance agreed among them could be no better than for One Man, *Two Biskets*, half a pound of *Pork*, half a pound of *Flower*, one Pint and a quarter of *Pease*, and two Salt *Fishes* per Week. This little Handful of Men, were now a sort of *Common-Wealth*, extraordinarily, and miserably separated from all the rest of Mankind; (but I believe, they thought little enough of an *Utopia*;) Wherefore, they consulted and concluded such *Laws* among themselves, as they judged necessary to their subsistence, in the doleful Condition, whereinto the *Providence* of God had cast them; now

—penitus toto divisos Orbe.

They set up *Good Orders*, as well as they could among themselves and, besides their daily Devotions, they Observed the *Lord's Days*, with more solemn Exercises of Religion.

But

But it was not long before they began to feel the more mortal effects of the Straits, whereinto they had bin Reduced: Their *short Commons*, Their Drink of *Snow-Water*, Their Hard and Wet, and Smoaky Lodgings, and their Grievous *Despair of Mind*, overwhelmed some of them, at such a Rate, and so *ham-string'd* them, that sooner than be at the paines to go abroad, and cut their one Fuel, they would ly after a Sottish manner in the Cold; these things quickly brought *Sicknesses* among them. The first of their Number who Died, was their *Doctor*, on the 20th of *December*; and then they dropt away, one after another, till between *thirty* and *forty* of the *sixty*, were buried by their disconsolate Friends, whereof every one look'd still to be the next that should lay his Bones in that Forsaken Region. These poor Men did therefore, on *Monday* the Twenty Seventh of *January*, keep a *Sacred Fast* (as they did, in some sort, a *civil* one, every day, all this while) to beseech of Almighty God, that his *Anger* might be turned from them, That he would not go on to cut them off in his *Anger*, That the Extremity of the Season might be mitigated, and, That they might be prospered in some Essay to get Relief as the *Spring* should Advance upon them; and they took *Notice*, That God gave them a Gracious Answer to every one of these Petitions.

But while the *Hand of God* was killing *so many* of this little *Nation* (and yet incapable to become a *Nation*, for it was, *Res unius Atatis, populus virorum!*) they apprehended, that they must have been under a most uncomfortable Necessity to *kill* One of their Company.

Whatever *Penalties* they Enacted for other Crimes, there was One, for which, like that of *Parricide* among the Ancients, they would have promised themselves, that there should not have been Occasion for any *Punishments*; and that was, the Crime of *Stealing* from the Common-Stock of their Provisions. Nevertheless, they found their *Store-House* divers times broken open, and their *Provisions* therefrom *stolen*, by divers unnatural
children

Late Governour of New-England. 49

Children of the *Leviathan*, while it was not possible for them to preserve their feeble Store-House from the *Stone-Wall-breaking* Madness of these unreasonable Creatures. This Trade of *stealing*, if it had not been stop'd, by some *exemplary Severity*, they must in a little while, by *Lot* or *Force* have come to have *Canibally* devoured One Another ; for there was nothing to be done, either at *Fishing* or *Fowling* or *Hunting* upon that Rueful Island, in the Depth of a Frozen Winter ; and though they sent, as far as they could upon Discovery, they could not find, on the Island, any *Living thing* in the World, besides themselves. Wherefore, though by an *Act*, they made *stealing* to be so *Criminal*, that Several did Run the *Gambler* for it, yet, they were not far from being driven after all, to make One Degree and Instance of it, *Capital*. There was a wicked *Irishman* among them, who had such a *Voracious Devil* in him, that after divers *Burglaries* upon the *Store-house*, committed by him, at last, he *stole*, and *Eat* with such a *Pamphagous Fury*, as to Cram himself with no less than *Eighteen Biskets*, at one *stolen meal*, and he was fain to have his Belly strok'd and Bath'd before the Fire, lest he should otherwise have burst. This Amazing and indeed murderous Villany of the *Irishman*, brought them all to their Wit's Ends, how to defend themselves from the Ruine therein threatned unto them ; and whatever *methods* were proposed, it was feared, that there could be no stop given to his *Furacious* Exorbitancies, any Way but *One* ; He could not be past *Stealing*, unless he were past *Eating* too. Some think therefore, they might have Sentenced the Wretch to Dye, and after they had been at pains, upon Christian and Spiritual Accounts, to prepare him for it, have executed the Sentence, by shooting him to Death : concluding matters come to that pass, that if *they* had not shot him, he must have *Starved* them unavoidably. Such an Action if it were done, will doubtless meet with no harder a Censure, than that of the seven *English* men, who

F

be.

being in a Boat carried off to Sea, from *St. Christopher's*, with but *one* Days Provision aboard for *Seventeen*, Singled out some of their Number by Lot and slew them, and Eat them; for which, when they were afterwards accused of *Murder*, the Court, in consideration of the *inevitable Necessity*, acquitted them. Truly, the *inevitable necessity* of *Starving*, without such an Action, sufficiently grievous to them all, will very much plead for what was done (whatever it were!) by these poor *Antecostians*. And starved indeed, they must have been, for all this, if they had not Contrived and Performed a very desperate Adventure, which now remains to be Related. There was a very diminutive kind of Boat belonging to their *Brigantine*, which they recovered out of the Wreck, and cutting this Boat in Two, they made a shift with certain odd Materials preserved among them, to lengthen it so far, that they could therein form a *little Cuddy*, where Two or Three Men might be stowed, and they set up a *little Mast*, whereto they fastned a little Sail, and accommodated it with some other *little circumstances*, according to their present poor Capacity.

On the Twenty Fifth of *March*, Five of the Company Shipped themselves upon this Doughty *Fly-Boat*, intending, if it were possible, to carry unto *Boston*, the Tidings of their woful Plight upon *Antecosta*, and by help from their Friends there, to return with seasonable succours for the rest. They had not Sail'd long, before they were Hemm'd in by prodigious Cakes of Ice, whereby their Boat sometimes was horribly wounded, and it was a Miracle, that it was not Crush'd into a *Thousand pieces*, if indeed a *thousand pieces* could have been Splintred out of so minute a *Cock-Boat*. They kept labouring, and fearfully Weather-beaten, among enormous Rands of Ice, which would ever now and then rub formidably upon them, and were enough to have broken the Ribs of the strongest Frigate that ever cut the Seas; and yet the signal Hand of Heaven so

Late Governour of New-England. 51

preserved this petty Boat, that by the Eleventh of *April*, they had got a quarter of their way, and came to an Anchor under *Cape St. Lawrence*, having seen Land but *once* before, and that about seven Leagues off, ever since their first setting out; and yet, having seen the *open and Ocean Sea, not so much as once*, in all this while, for the Ice that still encompassed them. For their support in this Time, the little Provisions they brought with them, would not have kept them alive; only they killed *Seale* upon the Ice, and they melted the upper pare of the Ice for Drink; but fierce, wild, ugly *Sea-Horses*, would often so approach them upon the Ice, that the fear of being devoured by them, was not the least of their Exercises. The Day following, they weighed Anchor, betimes in the Morning; but the *Norwest Winds* persecuted them, with the raised and raging Waves of the Sea, which almost continually poured into them; and monstrous Islands of Ice, that seemed almost as big as *Antecosta* it self, would ever now and then come athwart them. In such a Sea they lived by the special assistance of God, until by the thirteenth of *April*, they got into an Island of *Land*, where they made a Fire, and killed some Fowl, and some *Seal*, and found some *Goose-Eggs*, and supplied themselves with what Billets of Wood were necessary and carriageable for them; and there they stayed until the seventeenth. Here, their Boat lying near a Rock, a great Sea hove it upon the Rock, so that it was upon the very point of *oversetting*, which if it had, she had bin utterly disabled for any further service, and they must have called that Harbour by the Name, which, I think, one a little more *Northward* bears, *The Cape without Hope*. There they must have ended their weary days! But here, the good Hand of God again interposed for them; they got her off, and though they lost their *Compass* in this Hurry, they sufficiently Repaired another defective one, that they had aboard. Sailing from thence, by the Twenty Fourth of *April*,

52 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

they made *Cape Britton* ; when a thick Fog threw them into a new Perplexity, until they were safely gotten into the *Bay of Islands*, where they again Wooded and Watred, and killed a few Fowl, and caught some Fish, and began to reckon themselves as good as *half way home*. They reached *Cape Sables* by the Third of *May*, but by the fifth, all their Provision was again spent, and they were out of sight of Land ; nor had they any prospect of catching any thing that lives in the *Atlantic* : which, while they were lamenting one unto another, a stout *Halibut* comes up to the top of the Water, by their side ; whereupon they threw out the Fishing-Line, and the Fish took the Hook, but he proved so heavy, that it required the help of several Hands, to hale him in, and a *thankful Supper* they made on't. By the seventh of *May*, seeing no Land, but having once more spent all their Provision, they were grown almost wholly hopeless of Deliverance, but then a Fishing Shallop of *Cape Ann*, came up with them, fifteen Leagues to the Eastward of that Cape. And yet, before they got in, they had so Tempestuous a Night, that they much feared perishing upon the Rocks, after all : But God carried them into *Boston Harbour* the Ninth of *May*, unto the great surprise of their Friends, that were in Mourning for them : And there furnishing themselves with a Vessel fit for their Undertaking, they took a Course in a few Weeks more to fetch home their Brethren, that they left behind them at *Antecosta*.

But it is now time for us to return unto Sir *William* !

S E C T. 13.

ALL this while *CANADA* was as much written upon Sir *William's* Heart, as *CALLICE*, they said once, was upon *Queen Maries*. He needed not one to have been his daily Monitor about *Canada* :

It

Late Governour of New-England. 53

It lay down with him, it rose up with him, it engrossed almost all his Thoughts; he thought the subduing of *Canada*, to be the greatest service that could be done for *New-England*, or for the Crown of *England* in *America*. In pursuance whereof, after he had been but a few Weeks at Home, he took another Voyage for *England*, in the very depth of Winter, when Sailing was now dangerous; conflicting with all the Difficulties of a tedious and a terrible Passage, in a very little Vessel, which indeed, was like enough to have perished, if it had not been for the help of his Generous Hand aboard, and *His Fortunes in the bottom*.

Arriving—— per tot Discrimina, at *Bristol*, he hastened up to *London*; and made his Applications to Their Majesties, and the Principal Ministers of State, for assistance to Renew an Expedition against *Canada*, concluding his Representation to the King, with such Words as these:

‘ If Your Majesty shall graciously please to Commission and Assist me, I am ready to venture my Life again in your Service. And I doubt not, but by the Blessing of God, *Canada* may be added unto the rest of your Dominions, which will (all circumstances considered) be of more advantage to the Crown of *England*, than all the Territories in the *West-Indies* are.

The Reasons here subjoined, are humbly Offered unto Your Majesties Consideration.

‘ *First*, The Success of this Design, will greatly add to the Glory and Interest of the *English* Crown and Nation; by the Addition of the *Bever-Trade*, and securing the *Hudson’s Bay* Company, some of whose *Factories* have lately fallen into the Hands of the *French*; and increase of *English* Shipping and Seamen, by gaining the Fishery of *Newfoundland*, and by consequence diminish the number of *French* Seamen, and cut off a great Revenue from the *French* Crown.

F 3

Secondly,

‘ *Secondly*, The Cause of the *English* in *New-England*,
 ‘ their failing in the late Attempt upon *Canada*, was
 ‘ their waiting for a Supply of *Ammunition* from *Eng-*
 ‘ *land* until *August*; their long Passage up that River;
 ‘ the cold Season coming on; and the *Small-Pox* and
 ‘ *Fevers* being in the Army and Fleet; so that they
 ‘ could not stay fourteen days longer; in which time
 ‘ probably they might have taken *Quebeck*; yet, if a few
 ‘ *Frigats* be speedily sent, they doubt not of an happy
 ‘ Success; the strength of the *French* being small, and
 ‘ the *Planters* desirous to be under the *English* Govern-
 ‘ ment.

‘ *Thirdly*, The *Jesuites* endeavour to seduce the *Ma-*
 ‘ *quas*, and other *Indians* (as is by them affirmed) sug-
 ‘ gesting the Greatness of King *Lewis*, and the inabili-
 ‘ ty of King *William*, to do any thing against the *French*
 ‘ in those Parts, thereby to Engage them in their Inte-
 ‘ rests: In which, if they should succeed, not only
 ‘ *New-England*, but all our *American* Plantations, would
 ‘ be endangered by the Great Increase of Shipping, for
 ‘ the *French* (built in *New-England* at easie Rates) to
 ‘ the Infinite Dishonour and Prejudice of the *English*
 ‘ Nation.

But now, for the Success of these Applications, I
 must entreat the Patience of my Reader, to wait
 until we have gone through a little more of our Hi-
 story.

S E C T. 14.

THE Reverend *INCREASE MATHER*,
 beholding his Country of *New-England* in a very De-
 plorable Condition, under a *Governour* that acted by an
 Illegal, Arbitrary, Treasonable Commission, and In-
 vaded

vaded *Liberty* and *Property*, after such a manner, as that no man could say any thing was *his own*, he did with the Encouragement of the Principal Gentlemen in the Country, but not without much Trouble and Hazard unto his own Person, go over to *White-Hall*, in the Summer of the Year 1688. and wait upon King *James*, with a full *Representation* of their Miseries. That King did give him *Liberty of Access* unto him, whenever he desired it, and with many *Good Words* promised him to Relieve the Oppressed People in many *Instances* that were proposed : But when the *Revolution* had brought the Prince and Princess of *Orange* to the Throne, Mr. *Mather* having the Honour divers Times to Wait upon the King, he still prayed for no less a Favour to *New-England*, than the full Restoration of their *Charter-Priviledges* : And Sr. *William Phips* happening to be then in *England*, very Generously joined with Mr. *Mather*, in some of those *Addressses* : Whereto, his Majestie's Answers were always very expressive of his Gracious Inclinations. Mr. *Mather*, herein assisted also, by the Right Worshipful Sr *Henry Ashurst*, a most Hearty Friend of all such Good Men, as those that once filled *New-England*, solicited the Leading Men of both Houses in the Convention-Parliament, until a Bill for the Restoring of the Charters belonging to *New-England*, was fully Passed by the Commons of *England* ; but that Parliament being Prorogu'd, and then Dissolved, all that *Sisyphean* Labour came to nothing. The Disappointments which afterwards most wonderfully Blasted all the hopes of the Petitioned Restoration, obliged Mr. *Mather*, not without the Concurrence of other Agents, now also come from *New-England*, unto that Method of Petitioning the King for a *New Charter*, that should contain more than all the Priviledges of the *Old* ; and Sir *William Phips*, now being again returned into *England*, lent his utmost Assistance hereunto.

The King taking a Voyage for *Holland*, before this Petition was answered. Mr. *Mather*, in the mean while, not only waited upon the greatest part of the Lords of His Majesties most Honourable Privy Council, offering them a Paper of *Reasons for the Confirmation of the Charter-Priviledges granted unto the Massachusset Colony*; but also, having the Honour to be Introduc'd unto the Queen; he assured Her Majesty, That there were none in the World better affected unto Their Majesties Government, than the People of *New-England*, who had indeed been expos'd unto great Hardships for their being so; and entreated, That since the King had referred the *New-Englisch* Affair unto the Two Lord Chief Justices, with the Attorney and Solicitor General, there might be granted unto us, what They thought was Reasonable. Whereunto the Queen replied, That the Request was Reasonable; and that She had spoken divers times to the King on the behalf of *New-England*; and that for Her own Part, She desired that the People there, might not meerly have Justice, but *Favour* done to them. When the King was returned, Mr. *Mather*, being by the Duke of *Devonshire* brought into the King's Presence on April 28. 1691. Humbly Pray'd His Majesties Favour to *New-England*; urging, That if their Old Charter-Priviledges might be restored unto them, his Name would be Great in those Parts of the World, as long as the World should stand; adding,

Sir,

Your Subjects there, have been willing to venture their Lives, that they may enlarge Your Dominions; The Expedition to Canada, was a great and Noble Undertaking.

May it Please Your Majesty, In your great Wisdom also, to consider the circumstances of that People, as in Your Wisdom you have considered the circumstances of England, and of Scotland. In New-England they differ from other Plantations; they are called Congregational and Presbyterian. So that such a Governour will not suit with the People of New-England, as may be very proper for other English Plantations.

Two

Late Governour of New-England. 57

Two Days after this, the King, upon what was proposed by certain Lords, was very inquisitive, whether He might without breach of Law, set a Governour over *New-England*; whereto the Lord Chief Justice, and some others of the Council, answered, That whatever might be the Merit of the Cause, inasmuch as the *Charter of New-England*, stood vacated by a Judgment against them, it was in the King's Power to put them under what *Form of Government* He should think best for them.

The King then said, 'That He believed it would be for the Advantage of the People, in that Colony, to be under a Governour appointed by Himself: 'Nevertheless (because of what Mr. Mather had spoken to Him) 'He would have the Agents of *New-England* nominate a Person, that should be agreeable unto the Inclinations of the People there; and notwithstanding this, He would have Charter-Priviledges restored and confirmed unto them.

The Day following, the King began another Voyage to *Holland*; and when the Attorney General's Draught of a Charter, according to what he took to be his Majesty's Mind, as expressed in Council, was presented at the *Council-Board*, on the eighth of June, some Objections then made, procured an Order to prepare *Minutes* for another Draught, which deprived the *New-Englanders* of several *Essential Priviledges* in their other Charter. Mr. Mather put in his Objections, and vehemently protested, that he would sooner part with his *Life*, than consent unto those *Minutes*, or any thing else, that should infringe any Liberty or Priviledge of Right belonging unto his Country; but he was answered, That the Agents of *New-England* were not *Plenipotentiaries* from another Sovereign State, and that, if they would not submit unto the King's Pleasure in the settlement of the Country, they must take what would follow.

The

The dissatisfactory *Minutes* were, by Mr. *Mather's* Industry, sent over unto the King in *Flanders*; and the Ministers of State then with the King were earnestly applied unto, that every mistake about the good Settlement of *New-England* might be prevented; and the Queen Her self, with Her own Royal Hand, wrote unto the King, that the Charter of *New-England* might either pass as it was drawn by the Attorney General, or be deferred until His own Return.

But after all, His Majesties Principal Secretary of State received a Signification of the King's Pleasure, That the Charter of *New-England* should run in the Main Points of it, as it was now granted: Only there were several Important Articles, which Mr. *Mather* by his unwearied Sollicitations obtained afterwards to be inserted.

There were some now of the Opinion, That instead of submitting to this New Settlement, they should, in Hopes of getting a Reversion of the Judgment against the Old Charter, declare to the Ministers of State, That they had rather have no Charter at all, than such an one as was now proposed unto Acceptance. But Mr. *Mather*, advising with many unprejudiced Persons, and Men of the greatest Abilities in the Kingdom, *Noblemen, Gentlemen, Divines*, and *Lawyers*, they all agreed, That it was not only a lawful, but all Circumstances then considered, a needful Thing, and a part of Duty and Wisdom, to accept what was now offered, and that a peremptory Refusal, would not only bring an Inconveniency, but a Fatal, and perhaps a Final Ruine upon the Country; whereof Mankind would lay the blame upon the Agents.

It was argued, That such a Submission was no Surrender of any thing; That the Judgment, not in the Court of Kings *Bench*, but in *Chancery* against the Old Charter, standing on Record, the Patent was

Late Governour of New-England. 59

was thereby Annihilated; That all attempts to have the Judgment against the Old Charter, taken off, would be altogether in vain, as Men and Things were then disposed.

It was further argued, That the Ancient Charter of *New-England*, was in the Opinion of the Lawyers, very Defective, as to several *Powers*, which yet were absolutely necessary to the subsistence of the Plantation: It gave the Government there no more Power, than the Corporations have in *England*; Power in Capital Cases was not therein particularly expressed.

It mentioned not, an *House of Deputies*, or, an *Assembly of Representatives*; the Governour and Company had thereby (they said) no Power to impose Taxes on the Inhabitants, that were not Free-men, or to erect Courts of Admiralty. Without such Powers, the Colony could not subsist, and yet the best Friends that *New-England* had, of Persons most learned in the Law, professed, that suppose the Judgment against the *Massachuset-Charter* might be Reversed, yet, if they should again Exert such Powers, as they did before the *Quo Warranto* against their Charter, a new Writ of *Scire Facias* would undoubtedly be issued out against them.

It was yet further argued, That if an Act of Parliament should have Reversed the Judgment against the *Massachuset-Charter*, without a grant of some other Advantages, the whole Territory had been, on many Accounts, very miserably Incommoded: The Province of *Main*, with *Hampshire* would have been taken from them; and *Plymouth* would have been annexed unto *New-York*; so, that this Colony would have been squeezed into an *Atom*, and not only have been render'd *Insignificant* in it's Trade, but by having it's Militia also, which was vested in the King, taken away, it's *Insignificancies* would have become, out of measure, humbling; whereas now, instead of
see-

seeing any Relief by Act of Parliament, they would have been put under a Governour, with a Commission, whereby ill Men, and the King's and Country's Enemies, might probably have crept into Opportunities to have done ten thousand ill Things, and have treated the best Men in the Land, after a very uncomfortable Manner.

It was lastly, argued, That by the New Charter very great Priviledges were granted unto *New-England*; and, in some respects greater, than what they formerly enjoyed. The *Colony* is now made a *Province*, and their General Court, has, with the King's Approbation, as much Power, in *New-England*, as the King and Parliament have in *England*. They have all *English* Liberties, and can be touched by no Law, by no Tax, but of their own making. All the Liberties of their Holy Religion are for ever secured, and their Titles to their Lands, once, for want of some Forms of legal Conveyance, contested, are now confirmed unto them. If an ill Governour should happen to be imposed on them, what Hurt could he do to them? None, except they themselves pleased; for he cannot make one Counsellour, or one Judge, or one Justice, or one Sheriff to serve his Turn: Disadvantages enough, one would think, to discourage any ill Governour from desiring to be Stationed in those uneasy Regions. The People have a Negative upon all the Executive Part of the Civil Government, as well as the Legislative, which is a vast Priviledge, enjoyed by no other Plantation in *America*, nor by *Ireland*, no, nor hitherto by *England* it self. Why should all of this Good be refused, or despised, because of somewhat not so Good attending it? The Despisers of so much Good, will certainly deserve a Censure, not unlike that of *Causabon*, upon some who did not value what that learned Man counted highly valuable, *Vix illis optari quid. quam pejus potest, quam ut familitate sua fruantur*:
Much

Late Governour of New-England. 61

Much good may do them with their Madness! All of this being well considered, Sir *William Phips*, who had made so many Addresses for the Restoration of the Old Charter, under which he had seen his Country many Years flourishing, will be excused, by all the World from any thing of a Fault, in a most unexpected passage of his Life, which is now to be related.

Sir *Henry Ashurst*, and Mr. *Mather*, well knowing the agreeable Disposition to do God, and the King, and his Country Service, which was in Sir *William Phips*, whom they now had with them, all this while prosecuting his Design for *Canada*, they did unto the Council-Board, nominate Him, for the GOVERNOUR of *New-England*. And Mr. *Mather*, being by the Earl of *Nottingham* introduced unto His Majesty, said,

Sir,

I do, in the behalf of *New-England*, most humbly thank your Majesty, in that you have been pleased by a Charter, to restore English Liberties unto them, to confirm them in their Properties, and, to grant them some peculiar Priviledges. I doubt not, but that your Subjects there, will demean themselves with that dutiful Affection and Loyalty to your Majesty, as that you will see cause to enlarge your Royal Favours towards them. And I do most humbly thank your Majesty, in that you have been pleased to give leave unto those that are concerned for *New-England*, to nominate their Governour.

Sir *William Phips* has been accordingly nominated by us, at the Council-Board. He hath done a good Service for the Crown, by enlarging your Dominions, and reducing of *Nova Scotia* to your Obedience. I know that He will faithfully serve your Majesty to the utmost of his Capacity; and if your Majesty shall think fit to confirm him in that Place, it will be a further Obligation on your Subjects there.

The

The Effects of all this was, that Sir *William Phips* was now invested with a Commission under the King's Broad-Seal to be *Captain General*, and *Governour in Chief*, over the Province of the *Massachusetts-Bay* in *New-England*: Nor do I know a Person in the World, that could have been proposed, more acceptable to the Body of the People throughout *New-England*, and on that score, more likely, and able to serve the King's Interests among the People there, under the Changes, in some things unacceptable, now brought upon them. He had been a *Gideon*, who had more than once ventured his Life to save his Country from their Enemies; and they now, with universal Satisfaction said, *Thou shalt Rule over us*. Accordingly, having, with Mr. *Mather*, kissed the King's Hand on *January 3d. 1691.* he hastned away to his Government; and arriving at *New-England*, the fourteenth of *May* following, attended with the *Non-such-Frigate*, both of them were welcomed with the Loud Acclamations of the long *Shaken* and *Shatter'd* Country, whereto they were now returned with a Settlement so full of Happy Priviledges.

S E C T. 15.

WHEN *Titus Flaminius* had freed the poor *Grecians* from the Bondage which had long oppressed them, and the Herald Proclaimed among them the Articles of their Freedom, they cried out, *A Saviour! a Saviour!* with such loud Acclamations, that the very *Birds* fell down from Heaven, astonish'd at the Cry. Truly, when Mr. *Mather* brought with him unto the poor *New-Englanders*, not only a *Charter*, which though in divers points wanting what both *he* and *they* had wished for, yet for ever delivers them from oppressions on their *Christian* and *English* Liberties, or, on their

Late Governour of New-England. 63

their Ancient Possessions, wherein ruining *Writs of Intrusion* had begun to Invade them all, but also a *G O V E R N O U R* who might call *New-England* his own Country, and who was above most Men in it, full of Affection to the Interests of *his Country*; the sensible part of the People, then caused the sense of the *Salvations* thus brought them, to reach as far as *Heaven* it self. The various little Humours then working among the People, did not hinder the *Great and General Court* of the Province, to appoint a Day of Solemn *T H A N K S G I V I N G* to Almighty God for *Granting* (as the Printed Order express'd it) a *Safe Arrival to His Excellency our Governour, and the Reverend Mr. Increase Mather, who have industriously endeavoured the Service of this People, and have brought over with them, a Settlement of Government, in which Their Majesties have Graciously given us distinguishing Marks of Their Royal Favour and Goodness.*

And as the Obliged People thus gave *Thanks* unto the God of Heaven, so they sent an Address of *Thanks* unto Their Majesties, with other Letters of *Thanks* unto some Chief Ministers of State, for the *Favourable Aspect* herein cast upon the Province.

Nor were the People mistaken, when they promised themselves all the Kindness imaginable from this *Governour*, and expected, *Under his shadow we shall live easie among the Heathen*: Why might they not look for *Halcyon-days*, when they had such a *Kings-Fisher* for their *Governour*?

Governour Phips had, as every Raised and Useful Person must have, his *envious Enemies*; but the palest Envy of them, who turned their worst Enmity upon him, could not hinder them from confessing, *That according to the best of his Apprehension, he ever sought the good of his Country*: His Country quickly felt this on innumerable Occasions; and they had it eminently demonstrated, as well in his promoting and Approving the Councils Choice of good *Judges, Justices and Sheriffs,*

64 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

riffs, which being once established, no *Successour* could remove them, as in his urging the *General Assembly* to make themselves happy by preparing a Body of Good Laws, as fast as they could, which being passed by him in his Time, could not be nulled by any other after him.

He would often speak to the Members of the General Assembly, in such Terms as these, *Gentlemen*, you may make your selves, as easie as you will for ever; consider what may have any tendency to your welfare; and you may be sure that whatever Bills you offer to me consistent with the Honour and Interest of the Crown, I'll pass them readily; I do but seek Opportunities to serve you; had it not been for the sake of this thing, I had never accepted the Government of this Province; and when ever you have settled such a Body of good Laws, that no Person coming after me, may make you uneasie, I shall desire not one Day longer to continue in the Government. Accordingly, he ever passed every Act for the welfare of the Province proposed unto him; and instead of ever putting them upon Buying his Assent unto any good Act, he was much forwarder to give it, than they were to ask it: Nor indeed, had the *Hunger of a Salary*, any such Impression upon him, as to make him decline doing all possible Service, for the Publick while he was not sure of having any proportionable, or honourable acknowledgments.

But yet he minded the Preservation of the King's Rights, with as careful and faithful a Zeal, as became a good Steward for the Crown: And, indeed, he studied nothing more, than to observe such a Temper in all things, as to extinguish what others have gone to distinguish; even the Pernicious Notion of a separate Interest. There was a Time, when the *Roman Empire*, was infested with a vast number of Governours, who were infamous for Infinite Avarice and Villany; and referring to this Time,

the

Late Governour of New-England. 65

the Apostle *John* had a Vision of, *People killed with the Beasts of the Earth.*

But Sir *William Phips* was none of those Governours; wonderfully contrary to this wretchedness, was the Happiness of *New-England*, when they had Governour *Phips*, using the tenderness of a Father towards the People, and being of the Opinion, *Ditare magis esse Regium quam Ditescere*, that it was a braver Thing to enrich the People, than to grow rich himself. A *Father*, I said; and what if I had said, an *Angel* too. If I should from *Clemens Alexandrinus* from *Theodoret*, and from *Ferom*, and others among the Ancients, as well as from *Calvin* and *Bucan*, and *Peter Martyr*, and *Chemnitius* and *Bullinger*, and a thousand more among the Moderns, bring Authorities for the Assertion, *That each Country and Province, is under the special care of some Angel, by a singular Deputation of Heaven assigned thereunto*, I could back them with a far greater Authority than any of them all. The Scripture it self does plainly assert it: And hence the most Learned *Grotius*, writing of *Common-Wealths*, has a passage to this purpose, *His singulis, suos Atributos, esse Angelos, ex Daniele, magno consensu, & Judæi & Christiani veteres colligebant.*

But *New-England* had now, besides the *Guardian-Angel*, who more invisibly intended it's welfare, a *Governour*, that became wonderfully agreeable thereunto, by his whole Imitation of such a *Guardian-Angel*. He employed his whole Strength, to guard his People from all Disasters, which threatned them either by Sea, or Land; and it was remark'd, that nothing remarkably Disastrous did befall that People, from the Time of his Arrival to the Government, until there arrived an Order for his leaving it: (Except one Thing which was begun before he entered upon the Government:) But instead thereof, the *Indians* were notably defeated, in the Assaults,

66 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

which they now made upon the *English*, and several *French* Ships did also very advantageously fall into his Hands; yea, there was by his means a Peace restored unto the Province, that had been divers Years languishing under the Hætic Feaver of a Lingring War.

And there was this one thing more, that rendered his Government the more desirable; That whereas 'tis impossible for a meer Man to govern without some *Error*, when ever, this Governour was advised of any Error in any of his Administrations, he would immediately retract it, and revoke it, with all possible ingenuity; so that if any occasion of just complaint arose, it was usually his endeavour, that it should not long be complain'd of

———*O, Felices nimium, sua si Bona, norânt,
Nov-Angli.*———

But having in a *Parenthesis*, newly intimated, that His Excellency, when he entred on his Government, found one Thing, that was remarkably *Disastrous* begun upon it: Of that one Thing, we will now give some Account.

Reader, prepare to be entertained, with as Prodigious Matters, as can be put into any History! And let him that writes the next *Thaumatrographia Pneumatica*, allow to these Prodigies the chief Place among the wonders.

S E C T. 16.

ABOUT the Time of our Blessed Lord's coming to Reside on Earth, we read of so many possessed with Devils, that it is commonly thought the Number of such Miserable *Energumens* was then encreased above what has been usual in other Ages; and the Reason of that Increase,

Late Governour of New-England. 67

crease, has been made a Matter of some Enquiry. Now though the *Devils* might herein design by *Preternatural Operations* to Blast the *Miracles* of our Lord Jesus Christ, which Point they Gained among the Blasphemous *Pharisees*; and the *Devils* might herein also design a villanous *Imitation* of what was coming to pass in the *Incarnation* of our Lord Jesus Christ, wherein God came to dwell in *Flesh*; yet I am not without suspicion that there may be something further in the Conjecture of the Learned *Bartholinus* hereupon, who says, It was *Quod judæi præter modum, Artibus Magicis dediti Damonem Advocaverint*, the *Jews*, by the frequent use of *Magical Tricks*, called in the *Devils* among them.

It is very certain, there were hardly any People in the World grown more fond of *Sorceries*, than that unhappy People: The *Talmuds* tell us of the little *Parchments* with Words upon them, which were their common *Amulets*, and of the *Charms* which they mutter'd over *Wounds*, and of the various *Enchantments* which they used against all sorts of *Disasters* whatsoever. It is affirmed in the *Talmuds*, that no less than Twenty four Scholars in one School, were killed by *Witchcraft*; and that no less than *four score* Persons were Hanged for *Witchcraft* by one Judge in one Day. The *Gloss* adds upon it, *That the Women of Israel had generally fallen to the Practice of Witchcrafts*; and therefore it was required, That there should be still chosen into the Council, One skilful in the *Arts of Sorcerers*, and able thereby to discover who might be guilty of those *Black Arts* among such as were accused before them.

Now the Arrival of Sir *William Phips* to the Government of *New-England*, was at a Time, when a Governour would have had Occasion for all the Skill in *Sorcerie*, that was ever necessary to a *Jewish Councillor*; A Time when Scores of poor people had newly fallen under, a prodigious Possession of *Devils*, which it was then generally thought had been by *Witchcrafts* introduced.

68 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

duced. It is to be confessed and Bewailed, That many Inhabitants of *New-England*, and Young people especially, had been Led away with Little *Sorceries*, wherein they did *Secretly those Things that were not Right against the Lord their God*; They would often cure Hurts with *Spells*, and practise detestable Conjurations with *Sieves*, and *Keys*, and *Pease*, and *Nails* and *Horse-shoes*, and other Implements, to Learn the Things, for which they had a forbidden and impious Curiosity. Wretched Books had stoln into the Land, wherein Fools were instructed, how to become able Fortune-Tellers: Among which, I wonder that a blacker Brand is not set upon that Fortune-telling Wheel, which that Sham-Scribler, that goes under the Letters of *R. B.* has proposed in his *Delights for the Ingenious*, as an *honest and pleasam Recreation*: And by these Books, the minds of many had been so poisoned, that they studied this *Finer Witchcraft*; until, 'tis well, if some of them were not betray'd, into what is grosser, and more sensible and Capital. Although these *Diabolical Divinations* are more ordinarily committed perhaps all over the *whole World*, than they are in the Country of *New-England*, yet, That being a Country Devoted unto the Worship and Service of the Lord *JESUS CHRIST* above the *Rest of the World*. He signalized his Vengeance against these wickednesses, with such extraordinary Dispensations, as have not been often seen in others Places.

The *Devils*, which had been so play'd withal, and, it may be, by some few Criminals more Explicitly engaged and imployed, now broke in upon the Country, after as astonishing a manner, as was ever heard of. Some scores of People, first about *Salem*, the Centre and first Born, of all the Towns in the Colony, and afterwards in several other Places, were arrested with many *Praternatural Vexations* upon their Bodies, and a variety of cruel Torments, which were
evi-

Late Governour of New-England. 69

evidently inflicted from the *Demons* of the *Invisible World*. The People that were *infested* and *infested* with such *Demons*, in a few Days Time, arrived unto such a *Refining Alteration* upon their Eyes, that they could see their Tormentors; they saw a *Devil* of a little *Stature*, and of a Tawny Colour, attended still with *Spectres*, that appeared in more Humane Circumstances.

These *Tormentors*, tendred unto the Afflicted, a *Book*, requiring them to *Sign* it, or to *Touch* it, at least, in token of their consenting to be Listed in the Service of the *Devil*; which, they refusing to do, the *Spectres* under the command of that *Black-man*, as they called him, would apply themselves to Torture them, with prodigious Molestations.

The afflicted Wretches were horribly *Distorted* and *Convulsed*; they were *Pinched* Black and Blew; *Pins* would be run every where in their Flesh; they would be *scalded* until they had *Blisters* raised on them; and a thousand other things before Hundreds of Witnesses were done unto them, evidently *Praternatural*: For, if it were *Praternatural*, to keep a rigid *Fast*, for *Nine*, yea, for *Fifteen* Days together; or, if it were *Praternatural*, to have ones Hands *ty'd* close together, with a *Rope* to be plainly seen, and then by *unseen Hands* presently pull'd up a great way from the Earth, before a croud of People: Such *Praternatural* Things were endured by them.

But of all the *Praternatural* Things which beset these People, there were none more *unaccountable* than those, wherein the *præstigious Demons* would ever now and then cover the most *Corporeal* Things in the World, with a *Fascinating Mist* of *Invisibility*. As now; A Person was cruelly assaulted by a *Spectre*, that, she said, run at her with a *Spindle*, though no Body else in the Room could see either the *Spectre* or the *Spindle*: At last, in her Agonies, giving a snatch at the *Spectre*, she pulled the *Spindle* away; and

and it was no sooner got into her Hand, but the other Folks then present, beheld that it was indeed a real, proper, Iron *Spindle*; which when they locked up very safe, it was nevertheless by the *Demons* taken away to do farther Mischief.

Again; A Person was haunted by a most abusive *Spectre*, which came to her, she said, with a *Sheet* about her, though seen to none but her self. After she had undergone a deal of Teaze, from the Annoyance of the *Spectre*, she gave a violent *snatch* at the *Sheet* that was upon it; where-from she tore a Corner, which in her Hand, immediately was beheld by all that were present; a palpable Corner of a *Sheet*: And her Father, which was now holding of her, *catch'd*, that he might keep, what his Daughter had so strangely siezed; but the *Spectre* had like to have wrung his Hand off, by endeavouring to wrest it from him: However he still held it; and several times this odd Accident was renewed in the Family. There wanted not the *Oaths* of good credible People, to these particulars.

Also, It is well known, that these wicked *Spectres* did proceed so far as to steal several Quantities of Money from divers People, part of which Individual Money, was dropt sometimes out of the Air, before sufficient *Spectators*, into the Hands of the Afflicted, while the *Spectres* were urging them to subscribe their *Covenant with Death*. Moreover, *Poisons* to the standers-by, wholly *Invisible*, were sometimes forced upon the Afflicted; which when they have with much Reluctancy swallowed, they have *sworn* presently, so that the common Medicines for *Poisons* have been found necessary to relieve them: Yea, sometimes the *Spectres* in the *struggles*, have so dropt the *Poisons*, that the Standers by have smelt them, and view'd them, and beheld the *Pillows* of the miserable stained with them.

Late Governour of New-England. 71

Yet more, the miserable have complain'd bitterly of *burning Rags* run into their forceably distended *Mouths*, and though no Body could see any such *Clothes*, or, indeed any *Fires* in the Chambers, yet presently the *scalds* were seen plainly, by every Body, on the *Mouths* of the Complainers, and not only the *Smell*, but the *Smoke* of the Burning, sensibly fill'd the Chambers.

Once more; the miserable exclaimed extreamly of *Branding Irons* heating at the Fire, on the *Hearth*, to mark them; now though the standers-by could see no *Irons*, yet they could see distinctly the Print of them in the *Ashes*, and *smell* them too as they were carried by the *not-seen Furies*, unto the Poor Creatures for whom they were intended; and those Poor Creatures were thereupon so *stigmatized* with them, that they will bear the *Marks* of them to their *Dying Day*. Nor are these the *Tenth Part* of the *Prodigies* that fell out among the *Inhabitants* of *New-England*.

Flashy People may *Burlesque* these Things, but when Hundreds of the most sober People in a Country, where they have as much *Mother-Wit* certainly, as the rest of Mankind, know them to be *True*, nothing but the absurd and froward Spirit of *Sadducism* can Question them. I have not yet mentioned so much as one Thing that will not be justified, if it be required, by the *Oaths* of more considerate Persons than any that can ridicule these odd *Phænomena*.

But the worst part of this astonishing *Tragedy* is yet behind; wherein Sir *William Phips*, at last, being dropt, as it were from the *Machin of Heaven*, was an Instrument of easing the Distresses of the Land, now so darkned by the *Wrath of the Lord of Hosts*. There were very worthy Men upon the spot, where the *assault from Hell* was first made, who apprehended themselves call'd from the *God of Heaven*, to
list

sift the business unto the bottom of it; and, indeed, the continual *Impressions*, which the out-cries and the havocks of the *afflicted People* that lived nigh unto them, caused on their Minds, gave no little Edge to this Apprehension.

The Persons were Men eminent for *Wisdom* and *Virtue*, and they went about their enquiry into the matter as *driven* unto it, by a *Conscience* of Duty to God and the World. They did in the first Place, take it for granted, that there are *Witches*, or, wicked Children of Men, who upon *Covenanting* with, and *Commissioning* of *Evil Spirits*, are attended by their Ministry to accomplish the Things desired of them: To satisfy them in which Perswasion, they had not only the *Assertions* of the *Holy Scripture*; Assertions, which the *Witch-Advocates* cannot evade without shifts, too foolish for any *Prudent*, or too profane for any *Honest Man*, to use; and they had not only the well-attested *Relations* of the gravest Authors from *Bodin* to *Bover*, and from *Binsfeld* to *Bromhal* and *Baxter*, to deny all which, would be as reasonable as to turn the *Chronicles* of all Nations into *Romances*, of *Don Quixot*, and the *seven Champions*; but they had also an *Ocular Demonstration* in one, who a little before had been executed for *Witchcraft*, when *Joseph Dudley* Esquire was the Chief Judge. There was one whose *Magical Images* were found, and who *confessing her Deeds*, (when a Jury of Doctors returned her, *Compos Mentis*) actually shewed the whole Court, by what *Ceremonies* used unto them, she directed her *Familiar Spirits*, how and where to Cruciate the Objects of her Malice; and the Experiments being made over and over again, before the whole Court, the *Effect* followed exactly, in the Hurts done to People at a distance from her. The Existence of such *Witches*, was now taken for granted by those good Men, wherein so far the generality of reasonable Men have thought,

thought, *they ran well*; and they soon received the *Confessions* of some *accused* Persons to confirm them in it; but then, they took one thing more for granted, wherein 'tis now as generally thought they *went out of the Way*. The *Afflicted* People vehemently accused several Persons in several Places, that the *Spectres* which afflicted them, did exactly resemble *Them*; until the importunity of the *Accusations* did provoke the Magistrates to examine them. When many of the *accused* came upon their Examination, it was found, that the *Demons*, then a thousand ways abusing of the poor *afflicted* People, had with a marvelous exactness *represented* them; yea it was found that many of the *accused*, but casting their Eye on the *afflicted*, the *afflicted*, though their Faces were never so much another way, would fall down and lye in a sort of a swoon, wherein they would continue, whatever Hands were laid upon them, until the Hands of the *accused* came to touch them, and *then* they would revive immediately: And it was found, that various kinds of *natural Actions* done by many of the *accused* in or to their own Bodies, as *Leaning*, *Bending*, *Turning Awry*, or *Squeezing* their Hands or the like, were presently attended with the like things *praternaturally* done upon the Bodies of the *Afflicted*, though they were so far asunder that the *Afflicted* could not at all observe the *Accused*.

It was also found that the *Flesh* of the *Afflicted* was often *Bitten*, at such a rate, that not only the *Print of Teeth* would be left on their *Flesh*, but the very *Slaver* of Spittle too: And there would appear just such a *set of Teeth*, as was in the *Accused*, even such as might be clearly distinguished from other Peoples. And usually the *Afflicted* went through a terrible deal of seeming Difficulties from the tormenting *Spectres*, and must be long waited on, before they could get a Breathing Space from their *Torments*, to give in their Testimonies.

74 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

Now many good Men took up an Opinion, That the *Providence* of God would not permit an *Innocent Person* to come under such a *Spectral Representation*; and that a concurrence of so many *Circumstances*, would prove an *Accused Person* to be in a *Confederacy* with the *Demons* thus afflicting of the *Neighbours*; they judged, that except these Things might amount unto a *Conviction*, it would scarce be possible ever to *Convict* a *Witch*; and they had some *Philosophical Schemes* of *Witchcraft*, and of the Method and Manner, wherein *Magical Poisons* operate, which further supported them in their Opinion.

Sundry of the *Accused Persons* were brought unto their *Trial*, while this Opinion was yet prevailing in the Minds of the *Judges*, and the *Furies*, and perhaps the most of the People in the County, then mostly Suffering; and though against some of them that were Tried, there came in so much *other Evidence* of their Diabolical Compacts, that some of the most *Judicious* and yet *vehement* Opposers of the Notions then in Vogue, publicly declared, *Had they themselves been on the Bench, they could not have Acquitted them*; nevertheless, divers were Condemned, against whom the *chief Evidence* was founded in the *Spectral Exhibitions*.

And it happening, that some of the *Accused* coming to confess themselves *Guilty*, their *Shapes* were no more seen by any of the *Afflicted*, though the Confession had been kept never so Secret, but instead thereof the *Accused* themselves became in all Vexations just like the *Afflicted*; this yet more confirmed many in the Opinion, that had been taken up.

And another thing that quickned them yet more to *Act* upon it, was, That the *Afflicted* were frequently entertained with *Apparitions* of *Closets* at the same Time, that the *Spectres* of the supposed *Witches* troubled them: Which *Ghosts* always cast the Beholders into far more Consternation than any of the *Spectres*; and when they exhibited themselves, they cried out
of

Late Governour of New-England. 75

of being *Murdered* by the *Witchcrafts*, or other Violences of the Persons represented in the *Spectres*. Once or Twice, these Apparitions were seen by others at the very same time that they shew'd themselves to the *afflicted*, and seldom were they seen at all, but when something unusual, and suspicious, had attended the Death of the Party thus appearing.

The *Afflicted* People, many times, had never heard any thing before of the Persons appearing in *Ghost*, or of the Persons *Accused* by the *Apparitions*; and yet the Accused upon Examination have confessed the Murders of those very Persons, though these *Accused* also knew nothing of the *Apparitions*, that had come in against them; and the *Afflicted* Persons likewise without any private Agreement or Collusion, when successively brought into a Room, have all asserted the same *Apparitions* to be there before them: These *Murders* did seem to call for an Enquiry.

On the other Part, there were many Persons of great Judgment, Piety, and Experience, who from the beginning were very much dissatisfied at these Proceedings; they feared, lest the *Devil* would get so far into the *Faith* of the People, that for the sake of many *Truths*, which they might find him telling of them, they would come, at length, to believe all his *Lyes*, whereupon what a Desolation of *Names*, yea and of *Lives* also, would ensue, a Man might without much *Witchcraft* be able to Prognosticate; and they feared, lest in such an extraordinary Descent of *Wicked Spirits* from their *High Places*, upon us, there might such *Principles* be taken up, as, when put into *Practice*, would unavoidably cause the *Righteous* to perish with the *Wicked*, and procure the Blood-shed of Persons like the *Gibeonites*, whom some learned Men suppose to be under a false Pretence of *Witchcraft*, by *Saul* exterminated.

However uncommon it might be, for *guiltless Persons* to come under such unaccountable Circumstances,

76 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

as were on so many of the Accused, they held, *Some things there are, which if suffered to be Common, would subvert Government, and Disband and Ruine Humane Society, yet God sometimes may suffer such Things to e-vene, that we may know thereby, how much we are beholden to him, for that restraint which he lays upon the Infernal Spirits, who would else reduce a World into a Chaos.* They had already known of one at the Town of Groton, hideously agitated by Devils, who in her fits, cried out much against a very Godly Woman in the Town, and when that Woman approached unto her, though the Eyes of the Creature, were never so shut, she yet manifested a violent Sense of her approach: But, when the Gracious Woman thus Impeached, had prayed earnestly with and for this Creature; then instead of crying out against her any more, she owned, that she had in all, been deluded by the Devil. They now saw, that the more the Afflicted were Harkned unto, the more the number of the Accused encreased; until, at last, many scores were cryed out upon, and among them, some, who by the Unblameableness, yea and Serviceableness of their whole Conversation, had obtained the Just Reputation of Good People among all that were acquainted with them. The Character of the Afflicted likewise added unto the common Distast, for though some of them too, were Good People, yet others of them, and such of them as were most Flippent at Accusing, had a far other Character.

In fine, the Country was in a dreadful Ferment, and wise Men foresaw a long Train of Dismal, and Bloody Consequences. Hereupon they first advised, that the Afflicted might be kept asunder, in the closest Privacy; and one particular Person, (whom I have cause to know) in pursuance of this Advice, offered himself singly to provide Accommodations for any six of them, that so the Success of more than ordinary Prayer with Fasting might with Patience, be experienced, before any other Courses were taken.

And

Late Governour of New-England. 77

And Sir *William Phips* arriving to his Government, after this *ensnaring horrible Storm* was begun, did consult the neighbouring Ministers of the Province, who made unto His Excellency and the Council a return, (drawn up, at their desire, by *Mr. Mather* the Younger as I have been inform'd) wherein they declared.

' We Judge, That in the Prosecution of These and
' all such *Witchcrafts*, there is need of a very Critical
' and Exquisite Caution. Lest, by too much Credulity,
' for things received only upon the *Devil's Authority*,
' there be a Door opened for a long Train of miserable
' Consequences, and Satan get an Advantage
' over us; for we should not be Ignorant of his De-
' ces.

' As in complaints upon *Witchcrafts*, there may be
' Matters of *Enquiry*, which do not amount unto Mat-
' ters of *Presumption*; and there may be Matters of
' *Presumption*, which yet may not be reckoned Matters
' of *Conviction*, so 'tis necessary, that all Proceedings
' thereabout, be managed with an *exceeding Tenderneſs*
' towards those that may be complained of; especially
' if they have been Persons formerly of an *unblemished*
' *Reputation*.

' When the *first Enquiry* is made into the Circum-
' stances of such as may ly under any just Suspicion
' of *Witchcrafts*, we could wish, that there may be ad-
' mitted as little as is possible of such *Noise, Company,*
' and *Openneſs*, as may too hastily expose them that are
' Examined; and that there may nothing be used as
' a *Test* for the Trial of the Suspected, the lawfulness
' whereof may be doubted among the People of God:
' But that the Directions given by such judicious Wri-
' ters as *Perkins* and *Bernard*, be consulted in such a
' Case.

' *Presumptions*, whereupon Persons may be commit-
' ted, and much more *Convictions*, whereupon Persons
' may be condemned, as guilty of *Witchcrafts*, ought cer-

‘tainly to be more considerable, than barely the *Accused* Persons being *represented* by a *Spectre* to the Afflicted: Inasmuch as it is an undoubted, and a notorious Thing, that a *Dæmon* may by God’s Permission, appear, even to ill Purposes, in the shape of an *Innocent*, yea, and a *Virtuous* Man: Nor can we esteem *Alterations* made in the *Sufferers*, by a *look* or *touch* of the *Accused*, to be an infallible Evidence of Guilt; but frequently liable to be abused by the Devil’s *Legerdemaines*.

‘We know not whether some *remarkable Affronts* given to the *Devils*, by our disbelieving of those Testimonies whose whole Force and Strength, is from *them* alone, may not put a Period unto the Progress of a direful Calamity begun upon us, in the *Accusation* of so many Persons, whereof, we hope, some are yet *clear from the great Transgression*, laid unto their Charge.

The Ministers of the Province also being Jealous, lest this *Counsel* should not be duly followed, requested the President of *Harvard-Colledge* to Compose and Publish, (which he did) some *Cases of Conscience* referring to these Difficulties: In which Treatise he did, with Demonstrations of incomparable *Reason* and *Reading* evince it, That *Satan* may appear in the Shape of an *Innocent* and a *Virtuous* Person, to afflict those that suffer by the *Diabolical Molestations*: And that the *Ordeal* of the *Sight*, and the *Touch*, is not a Conviction of a *Covenant* with the Devil, but liable to great Exceptions against the *lawfulness*, as well as the *Evidence* of it: And that either a Free and Fair *Confession* of the Criminals, or the Oath of two Credible Persons proving such Things against the Person *Accused*, as none but such as have a Familiarity with the Devil can know, or do, is necessary to the Proof of the Crime. Thus,

*Cum misit Natura Feras, & Monstra per Orbem,
Misit & Alciden qui Fera Monstra domet.*

The *Dutch* and *French* Ministers in the Province of *New-York*, having likewise about the same Time, their Judgment asked by the *Chief Judge* of that Province, who was then a Gentleman of *New-England*, They gave it in under their Hands, That if we Believe no *Venefick Witchcraft*, we must Renounce the *Scripture* of God, and the *Consent* of almost all the World; but that yet the *Apparition* of a Person Afflicting another, is a very Insufficient Proof of a *Witch*; nor is it Inconsistent with the Holy and Righteous Government of God over men, to permit the Affliction of the Neighbours, by Devils in the shape of *Good men*; and that a *Good Name* obtained by a *Good Life*, should not be Lost by Meer *Spectral Accusations*.

Now upon a Deliberate Review of these Things, His Excellency first *Reprieved*, and then *Pardoned* many of them that had been *Condemned*; and there fell out several strange Things, that caused the Spirit of the Country to run, as vehemently upon the *acquiring* of all the *Accused*, as it by mistake ran at first upon the *Condemning* of them. Some that had been zealously of the Mind, that the *Devil's* could not in the *Shapes* of good Men, afflict other Men, were terribly *Confuted*, by having their own *Shapes* and the *Shapes* of their most intimate and valued Friends thus *Abused*. And though more than twice Twenty, had made such voluntary, and harmonious, and uncontrollable *Confessions*, that if they were all *Sham*, there was therein the greatest Violation made by the Efficacy of the *Invisible World*, upon the *Rules of Understanding Humane Affairs*, that was ever seen since God made Man upon the *Earth*, yet they did so recede from their *Confessions*, that it was very clear, some of them had been hitherto, in a sort of a *Praternatural Dream*,

80 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

wherein, they had said *of themselves*, they *knew not what themselves*.

In fine, The last Courts that sate upon this *Thorny Business*, finding that it was impossible to Penetrate into the whole Meaning of the Things that had happened, and that so many *unsearchable Cheats* were enterwoven into the *Conclusion* of a Mysterious Business, which perhaps had not crept thereinto at the *Beginning* of it, they *cleared* the *Accused* as fast as they *Tried* them; and within a little while the *Afflicted* were most of them delivered out of their *Troubles* also: And the Land had Peace restored unto it, by the *God of Peace, treading Satan under foot*. *Erasmus*, among other Historians, does tell us, that at a Town in *Germany*, a *Dæmon* appearing on the Top of a Chimney, threatned that he would set the Town on *Fire*, and at length scattering some *Ashes* abroad, the whole Town was presently and horribly *Burnt* unto the *Ground*.

Sir *William Phips* now beheld such *Dæmons* hideously scattering *Fire* about the Country, in the *Exasperations*, which the *Minds* of Men were on these Things rising unto; and therefore when he had well *Canvased* a *Cause*, which perhaps might have puzzled the *Wisdom* of the *Wilest* Men on Earth to have managed, without any *Error* in their *Administrations*, he thought, if it would be any *Error* at all, it would certainly be the *safest*, for him, to put a stop unto all future *Prosecutions* as far as it lay in him to do it.

He did so; and for -it, he had not only the *Printed Acknowledgments* of the *New-Englanders*, who publickly thanked him, 'As one of the *Tribe of Zebulun*, 'raised up from among themselves, and *Spirited* as well 'as *Commissioned* to be the *Steers-man* of a Vessel be- 'fogg'd in the *Mare Mortuum* of *Witchcraft*, who now 'so happily *steered* her Course, that she escaped Ship- 'wrack, and was safely again *Moored* under the *Cape of Good Hope*; and cut asunder the *Circæan Knot* of 'Enchantment, more difficult to be *Dissolved* than the 'famous *Gordian* one of *Old*. But

Late Governour of New-England. 81

But the *QUEEN* also did him the Honour, to write unto him, those Gracious Letters, wherein Her Majesty commended his Conduct in these *Inexplicable* Matters. And I did right in calling these Matters *Inexplicable*. For if, after the Kingdom of *Sweden* (in the Year, 1669. and 1670.) had some Hundreds of their Children by Night often carried away by *Spectres*, to an *Hellish Rendezvous*, where the Monsters that so *Spirited* them, did every way *Tempt* them to Associate with them; and the Judges of the Kingdom after *extraordinary Supplications* to Heaven, upon a strict Enquiry, were so satisfied with the *Confessions* of more than Twenty of the *Accused*, agreeing exactly unto the *Depositions* of the *Afflicted*, that they put several scores of *Witches* to Death, whereupon the Confusions came unto a Period; yet after all the chiefeft Persons in the Kingdom would Question whether there were any *Witchcrafts* at all, in the whole Affair; it must not be wondred at, if the People of *New-England* are, to this Hour, full of *Doubts*, about the *steps* which were taken, while a *War* from the *Invisible World* was Terrifying of them, and whether they did not kill some of their *own side* in the *Smoke* and *Noise* of this Dreadful *War*. And it will be yet less wondred at, if we consider, that we have seen the whole *English Nation* alarumed with a *Plot*, and both *Houses of Parliament* upon good Grounds, Voting their Sense of it, and many Persons most justly *Hang'd*, *Drawn* and *Quarter'd*, for their share in it: When yet there are enough, who to this Day, will pretend that they cannot comprehend how much of it, is to be accounted *Credible*. However having related these wonderful Passages, whereof, if the *Veracity* of the Relator in any one Point be contested, there are whole *Clouds of Witnesses* to vindicate it, I will take my leave of the Matter with an wholesome Caution of *Lactantius*, which, it may be, some other Parts of the World besides *New-England* may have occasion to think upon; *Efficiunt Dæmones, ut*
quæ

*quæ non sunt, sic tamen, quasi sint, conspicienda Homini-
bus exhibeant.*

But the *Devils* being thus vanquished, we shall next hear, that some of his most devoted and resembling *Children*, are so too.

S E C T. 17.

AS one of the first Actions done by Sir William, after he came to the Age of *Doing*, was to save the Lives of many poor People from the Rage of the *Diabolical Indians* in the *Eastern Parts* of the Country, so now he was come to the Government, his Mind was very vehemently set upon recovering of those Parts, from the Miseries, which a New and a Long War of the *Indians* had brought upon them. His *Birib* and *Youth*, in the *East*, had rendred him well known unto the *Indians* there; he had Hunted, and Fished many a weary Day, in his Childhood with them; and when those rude Savages had got the Story by the End, that he had found a Ship full of Money, and was now become *all-one-a-King*! They were mightily astonish'd at it: But when they farther understood that he was become the Governour of *New-England*, it added a further Degree of Consternation to their Astonishment. He likewise was better acquainted with the Scituation of those Regions, than most other Men; and he consider'd what vast Advantages might arise, to no less, than the whole *English Nation*, from the *Lumber*, and *Fishery* and *Naval-stores*, which those Regions might soon supply the whole Nation withal, if once they were well settled with good Inhabitants.

Wherefore Governour *Phips*, took the first Opportunity, to raise an Army, with which he Travelled in Person, unto the *East-Country* to find out and cut off the Barbarous Enemy, which had continued for near four Years together, making horrible Havock on the
Planta-

Late Governour of New-England. 83

Plantations, that lay all along the Northern *Frontiers* of *New-England*: And having pursued those worse than *Scythian Wolves*, till they could be no longer followed, he did, with a very laudable *Skill*, and unusual *Speed*, and with less *Cost* unto the Crown, than perhaps ever such a Thing was done in the World, erect a strong *Fort*, at *Pemmaquid*,

This *Fort*, he contrived so much in the very Heart of the Country now possessed by the Enemy, as very much to hinder the several Nations of the Tawnies from *Clanning* together, for the common Disturbance; and his Design was, that a sufficient Garrison being here posted, they might from thence, upon Advice, issue forth to surprize that ferocious Enemy. At the same time he would fain have gone in Person up the Bay of *Funda*, with a convenient *Force*, to have spoiled a Nest of *Rebellious Frenchmen*, who being *Rendezvouzed* at *St. John's*, had a yearly Supply of Ammunition from *France*, with which they still supplied the *Indians*, unto the extream Detriment of the *English*, but his Friends for a long time, would not permit him to expose himself unto the Inconveniencies of that Expedition.

However, he took such Methods, that the *Indian Kings of the East*, within a little while, had their Stomachs brought down, to sue and beg for a *Peace*; And making their Appearance at the New-Fort, in *Pemmaquid*, Aug. 11. 1693. They did there Sign an Instrument, wherein, lamenting the Miseries which their Adherence to the *French Counsels*, had brought them into, they did for themselves and with the Consent of all the *Indians* from the River of *Merrimack*, to the most Easterly Bounds of all the Province, acknowledge their Hearty Subjection and Obedience unto the Crown of *England*, and solemnly Covenant, Promise, and Agree, to and with Sir *William Phips*, Captain General and Governour in Chief over the Province, and his Successors in that Place, That they would

84 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

would for ever cease all Acts of Hostility towards the Subjects of the Crown of *England*, and hold a Constant Friendship with all the *English*. *That* they would utterly abandon the *French* Interests, and not succour or conceal any Enemy *Indians*, from *Canada* or elsewhere, that should come to any of their Plantations within the *English* Territories: *That* all *English* Captives, which they had among them, should be returned with all possible speed, and no Ransom or Payment be given for any of them; *That* their Majesties Subjects the *English*, now should quietly enter upon, and for ever improve and enjoy all and singular their Rights of Lands, and former Possessions, within the Eastern Parts of the Province, without any claims from any *Indians*, or being ever disturbed therein: *That* all Trade and Commerce, which hereafter might be allowed between the *English* and the *Indians* should be under a Regulation stated by an Act of the *General Assembly*, or as limited by the Governour of the Province, with the Consent and Advice of his Council. And *That*, if any Controversie hereafter happen between any of the *English* and the *Indians*, no Private Revenge was to be taken by the *Indians*, but proper Applications to be made unto His Majesties Government, for the due Remedy thereof: *Submitting themselves herewithal to be Governed by His Majesty's Laws.*

And for the Manifestation of their *Sincerity* in the *Submission* thus made, the *Hypocritical Wretches* delivered *Hostages* for their Fidelity; and then set their *Marks and Seals*, no less than thirteen *Sagamores* of them, (with *Names* of more than a *Persian* length) unto this Instrument.

The first Rise of this *Indian War*, had hitherto been almost as Dark as that of the River *Nilus*: 'Tis true, if any *Wild English* did rashly begin to provoke and affront the *Indians*, yet the *Indians* had a fairer way to obtain Justice, than by Bloodshed: However, upon the *New-English Revolution*, the State of the *War* be-

Late Governour of New-England. 85

became wholly *New*: The Government then employed all possible ways to procure a good Understanding with the *Indians*, but all the *English* Offers, Kindnesses, Courtesies were barbarously requited by them, with New Acts of the most perfidious Hostility. Notwithstanding all this, there were still some *Nice People*, that had their scruples about the *Justice* of the *War*; but upon this New Submission of the *Indians*, if ever those *Rattle-snakes* (the only *Rattle-snakes*, which, they say, were ever seen to the Northward of *Merimack-River*) should stir again, the most scrupulous Persons in the World must own, *That it must be the most unexceptionable piece of Justice in the World for to extinguish them.*

Thus did the God of Heaven bless the unwearied Applications of Sir *William Phips*, for the restoring of *Peace* unto *New-England*, when the Country was quite out of *Breath*, in its Endeavours for its own Preservation, from the continual out-rages of an inaccessible Enemy, and by the *Poverty* coming in, so like an armed Man from the unsuccessfulness of their former *Armies*, that it could not imagine, how to take one step further in it's Wars. The most Happy Respite of *Peace* beyond *Merimack-River* being thus procured, the Governour immediately set himself to use all possible Methods, that it might be *Peace*, like a *River*, nothing short of *Everlasting*.

He therefore prevailed with Two or Three Gentlemen to join with him, in sending a Supply of *Necessaries for Life*, unto the *Indians*, until the General Assembly could come together to settle the *Indian-Trade* for the Advantage of the Publick, that the *Indians* might not by Necessity be driven again, to become a *French Propriety*; although by this Action, as the Gentlemen themselves were great *Losers* in their Estates, thus He Himself declared unto the Members of the General Assembly, that he would upon Oath, give an Account unto them of all his own Gains, and count himself a Gainer, if in lieu of all, they would
give

give him one *Beaver-Hat*. The same Generosity also caused him to take many a tedious Voyage, accompanied sometimes with his *Fidus Achates* and very Dear Friend, Kinsman and Neighbour, Colonel *John Philips*, between *Boston* and *Pemmaquid*; and this in the bitter Weeks of the *New-Englisch*, which is almost a *Russian Winter*.

He was a sort of *Confessor* under such Torments of Cold, as once made the *Martyrdom* of *Muria*, and others commemorated in Orations of the Ancients; and the *Snow* and *Ice* which *Pliny* calls, *The Punishment of Mountains*, he chearfully endured, without any other Profit unto himself, but only the Pleasure of thereby establishing and continuing unto the People the Liberty to Sleep quietly in their warm Nests at home, while he was thus concerned for them abroad. *Non miki sed Populo*, the Motto of the Emperour *Hadrian*, was engraved on the Heart of Sir William: NOT FOR MY SELF, BUT FOR MY PEOPLE: Or that of *Maximin*, *Quo major, hoc Laboriosior*, the more Honourable, the more Laborious.

Indeed the *Restlessness* of his Travels to the *Southern* as well as the *Eastern* Parts of the Country, when the Publick Safety call'd for his Presence, would have made one to think on the Translation which the King of *Portugal*, on a very extraordinary occasion, gave the Fourth Verse in the Hundred and Twenty first *Psalms*. *He will not slumber, nor will he suffer to sleep, the Keeper of Israel*. Nor did he only try to *Cicurate* the *Indians* of the *East*, by other Prudent and Proper Treatments, but he also furnished himself with an *Indian* Preacher of the Gospel, whom he carried unto the *Eastward*, with an Intention to teach them the Principles of the *Protestant Religion*, and unteach them the mixt *Paganry* and *Papery* which hitherto *Diaboliz'd* them. To unteach them, I say; for they had been Taught by the *French* Priests this among other things, That the Mother of our Blessed Saviour was

Late Governour of New-England. 87

a French Lady, and that they were *Englishmen* by whom our Saviour was murdered; and that it was therefore a meritorious Thing to destroy the *English* Nation. The Name of the Preacher whom the Governour carried with him, was *Nabauton*, one of the Natives; and because the passing of such Expressions from the Mouth of a Poor *Indian* may upon some Accounts be worthy of Remembrance, let it be Remembred, that when the Governour propounded unto him such a Mission to the Eastern Indians, he replied, *I know that I shall probably endanger my Life by going to Preach the Gospel among the Frenchified Indians, but I know that it will be a Service unto the Lord Jesus Christ; and therefore I will venture to go.*

God grant that his Behaviours may be in all things, at all times, according to these his Expressions! While these things were doing, having Intelligence of a French Man of War, expected at *St. John's*, he Dispatched away the *Non-such-Frigate* thither to intercept him; nevertheless by the gross Negligence and perhaps Cowardise of the Captain, who had lately come from *England*, with Orders to take the Command of her, instead of one, who had been by *Sir William* a while before put in, and one who had signalized himself by doing of notable Service for the King and Country in it, the *Frenchman* arrived, unladed, and went away untouch'd. The Governour was extreemly offended at this notorious Deficiency; it cast him into a great Impatience, to see the Nation so wretchedly served; and he would himself have gone to *Saint John's* with a Resolution to Spoil that Harbour of Spoilers, if he had not been taken off, by being sent for home to *Whitehall*, in the very midst of his Undertakings.

But the Treacherous *Indians* being poisoned with the French Enchantments, and furnished with brave New-Coats, and New Arms, and all new Incentives to War, by the Man of War newly come in, they presently, and

88 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

and perfidiously, fell upon two *English Towns*, and Butchered and Captived many of the Inhabitants, and made a *New War*, which the *New-Englanders* know not, whether it will End, until either *Canada* become an *English Province*, or that State arrive, wherein they shall beat *Swords into Plough-shares and Spears into Pruning-hooks*. And no doubt, the taking off *Sir William Phips*, was no small Encouragement unto the *Indians* in this Relapse, into the Villanies and Massacres of a *New Invasion* upon the Country.

S E C T. 18.

READER, 'Tis Time for us to view a little more to the *Life*, the *Picture* of the Person, the *Actions* of whose *Life*, we have hitherto been looking upon. Know then, That for his *Exteriour*, he was One *Tall*, beyond the common set of Men, and *Thick* as well as *Tall*, and *Strong* as well as *Thick*: He was, in all Respects, exceedingly *Robust*, and able to conquer such Difficulties of *Diet* and of *Travel*, as would have kill'd most Men alive: Nor did the *Fat*, whereinto he grew very much, in his later Years, take away the Vigour of his Motions.

He was well-set, and he was therewithal, of a very *Comely*, though a very *Manly* Countenance: A Countenance where any true skill in *Physiognomy*, would have read the Characters of a *Generous Mind*. Wherefore passing to his *Interiour*, the very first Thing which there offered it self unto Observation, was a most incomparable *Generosity*.

And of this, besides the innumerable Instances, which he gave in his usual Hatred of *Dirty*, or *Little Tricks*, there was one Instance for which I must freely say, *I never saw Three Men in this World that Equal'd him*; this was, His wonderfully *Forgiving Spirit*. In the vast Variety of *Business*, through which he

Late Governour of New-England. 89

he *Raced* in his Time, he met with many, and mighty *Injuries*, but, although I have heard all, that the most venomous *Malice* could ever *Hiss* at his Memory, I never did hear unto this Hour, that he did ever once deliberately *Revenge an Injury*.

Upon certain *Affronts*, he has made sudden *Returns*, that have shewed *Choler* enough, and he has by *Blow* as well as by *Word*, chastised *Incivilities*: He was, indeed, sufficiently impatient of being *put upon*, and when *Base Men*, surprizing him at some *Disadvantages* (for else few Men durst have done it) have sometimes drawn upon him, he has, without the *Wicked Madness* of a *Formal Duel*, made them feel that he knew how to *Correct Fools*. Nevertheless, he ever declined a *Deliberate Revenge* of a *Wrong* done unto him; though few Men upon *Earth*, have in their *Vicissitudes*, been furnished with such frequent *Opportunities* of *Revenge*, as *Heaven* brought into the Hands of this *Gentleman*.

Under great Provocations, he would commonly say, *'Tis no Matter, let them alone; sometime, or other they'l see their Weakness and Rashness, and have occasion for me to do them a Kindness: And they shall then see, I have quite forgotten all their Baseness*. Accordingly, 'twas remarkable to see it, That few Men ever did him a *Mischief*, but those Men afterwards had occasion for him to do *Them* a *Kindness*; and he did the *Kindness* with as forgetful a *Bravery*, as if the *Mischief* had never been done at all. The Emperour *Theodosius* himself could not be readier to *Forgive*; so worthily did he verifie that Observation.

*Quo quisque est Major, magis est Placabilis Ira,
Et Faciles Morus, Mens Generosa capit.*

In those Places of *Power* whereto the Providence of God, by several *Degrees* raised him, it still fell out so, that before his *Rise* thereunto, he underwent such

Things, as he counted very hard *Abuses*, from those very Persons over whom, the Divine Providence afterwards gave him the *Ascendant*.

By such *Trials*, the Wisdom of Heaven still prepared him, as *David* before him, for *successive Advancements*; and as he behaved himself with a marvellous *Long-suffering*, when he was *Tried*, by such *Mortifications*, thus when he came to be *Advanced*, he convinced all Mankind, that he had perfectly Buried all the old Offences, in an Eternal *Amnesty*. I was my Self an *Ear-witness*, that one, who was an *Eye-witness* of his Behaviour under such *Probations* of his Patience, did, long before his Arrival to that Honour, say unto him, *Sir, Forgive those that give you these Vexations, and know that the God of Heaven intends, before he has done with you, to make you the Governour of New-England!* And when he did indeed become the *Governour of New-England*, he shew'd that he still continued a *Governour of himself*, in his Treating all that had formerly been in ill Terms with him, with as much *Favour* and *Freedom*, as if there had never happened the least Exasperations: Though any *Governour*, that *Kens Hobbianism*, can easily contrive Ways enough to wreak a *Spite*, where he owes it.

It was with some *Christian Remark*, that he read the *Pagan-story* of the Renowned *Fabius Maximus*, who being preferred unto the highest Office in the *Common-Wealth*, did through a Zeal for his Country, overcome the greatest Contempts that any Person of *Quality* could have received. *Minutius* the Master of the Horse, and the next Person in Dignity to himself, did first privately Traduce him, as one that was *no Souldier*, and less *Politician*; and he afterwards did both by Speeches and Letters, prejudice not only the *Army*, but also the *Senate* against him, so that *Minutius* was now by an unpresidented Commission brought into an *Equality* with *Fabius*.

Late Governour of New-England. 91

All this while the great *Fabius* did not throw up his Cares for the Common-Wealth, but with a wondrous *Equality of Mind*, endured equally the Malice of the *Judges*, and the Fury of the *Commons*; and when *Minutius*, a while after, was with all his Forces, upon the Point of perishing by the victorious Arms of *Hannibal*, this very *Fabius*, not listening to the Dictates of *Revenge*, came in, and helped him, and saved him; and so by a rare Virtue, he made his worst *Adversaries*, the Captives of his *Generosity*.

One of the Ancients, upon such an History, cried out, *If Heathens can do thus much for the Glory of their Name, what shall not Christians do for the Glory of Heaven!* And Sir William Phips did so much more than thus much, that besides his meriting the *Glory* of such a Name, as *PHIPIUS MAXIMUS*, he therein had upon him the Symptoms of a Title to the *Glory of Heaven*, in the Seal of his own Pardon from God. Nor was this *Generosity* in HIS EXCELLENCY, the Governour of *New-England*, unaccompanied with many other *Excellencies*; whereof the *Piety* of his Carriage towards God, is worthy to be first mentioned.

It is true, He was very Zealous for all Men to enjoy such a *Liberty of Conscience*, as he judged a *Native Right* of Mankind: And he was extreemly Troubled, at the over-boiling Zeal of some good Men, who formerly took that wrong Way of reclaiming *Hereticks*, by *Persecution*. For this *Generosity* it may be, some would have compared him unto *Gallio*, the Governour of *Achaia*, whom our Preachers, perhaps with Mistake enough, think to be condemned in the Scripture, for his not appearing to be a *Judge*, in Matters which indeed fell not under his Cognizance.

And I shall be content that he be compared unto that Gentleman; for that *Gallio* was the Brother of *Seneca*, who gives this Character of him, *That there was no Man, who did not love him too little, if he could Love him any more*; and, *That there was no Mor-*

Things, as he counted very hard *Abuses*, from those very Persons over whom, the Divine Providence afterwards gave him the *Ascendant*.

By such *Trials*, the Wisdom of Heaven still prepared him, as *David* before him, for *successive Advancements*; and as he behaved himself with a marvellous *Long-suffering*, when he was *Tried*, by such *Mortifications*, thus when he came to be *Advanced*, he convinced all Mankind, that he had perfectly Buried all the old Offences, in an Eternal *Amnesty*. I was my Self an *Ear-witness*, that one, who was an *Eye-witness* of his Behaviour under such *Probations* of his Patience, did, long before his Arrival to that Honour, say unto him, *Sir, Forgive those that give you these Vexations, and know that the God of Heaven intends, before he has done with you, to make you the Governour of New-England!* And when he did indeed become the *Governour of New-England*, he shew'd that he still continued a *Governour of himself*, in his Treating all that had formerly been in ill Terms with him, with as much *Favour* and *Freedom*, as if there had never happened the least *Exasperations*: Though any *Governour*, that *Kens Hobbianism*, can easily contrive Ways enough to wreak a *Spite*, where he owes it.

It was with some *Christian Remark*, that he read the *Pagan-story* of the Renowned *Fabius Maximus*, who being preferred unto the highest Office in the *Common-Wealth*, did through a Zeal for his Country, overcome the greatest *Contempts* that any Person of *Quality* could have received. *Minutius* the Master of the Horse, and the next Person in Dignity to himself, did first privately Traduce him, as one that was *no Souldier*, and less *Politician*; and he afterwards did both by Speeches and Letters, prejudice not only the *Army*, but also the *Senate* against him, so that *Minutius* was now by an unpresidented Commission brought into an *Equality* with *Fabius*.

Late Governour of New-England. 91

All this while the great *Fabius* did not throw up his Cares for the Common-Wealth, but with a wondrous *Equality of Mind*, endured equally the Malice of the *Judges*, and the Fury of the *Commons*; and when *Minutius*, a while after, was with all his Forces, upon the Point of perishing by the victorious Arms of *Hannibal*, this very *Fabius*, not listening to the Dictates of *Revenge*, came in, and helped him, and saved him; and so by a rare Virtue, he made his worst *Adversaries*, the Captives of his *Generosity*.

One of the Ancients, upon such an History, cried out, *If Heathens can do thus much for the Glory of their Name, what shall not Christians do for the Glory of Heaven!* And Sir William Phips did so much more than thus much, that besides his meriting the *Glory* of such a Name, as *PHIPIUS MAXIMUS*, he therein had upon him the Symptoms of a Title to the *Glory of Heaven*, in the Seal of his own Pardon from God. Nor was this *Generosity* in HIS EXCELLENCY, the Governour of New-England, unaccompanied with many other *Excellencies*; whereof the *Piety* of his Carriage towards God, is worthy to be first mentioned.

It is true, He was very Zealous for all Men to enjoy such a *Liberty of Conscience*, as he judged a *Native Right* of Mankind: And he was extreemly Troubled, at the over-boiling Zeal of some good Men, who formerly took that wrong Way of reclaiming *Hereticks*, by *Persecution*. For this *Generosity* it may be, some would have compared him unto *Gallio*, the Governour of *Achaia*, whom our Preachers, perhaps with Mistake enough, think to be condemned in the Scripture, for his not appearing to be a *Judge*, in Matters which indeed fell not under his Cognizance.

And I shall be content that he be compared unto that Gentleman; for that *Gallio* was the Brother of *Seneca*, who gives this Character of him, *That there was no Man, who did not love him too little, if he could Love him any more*; and, *That there was no Mor-*

92 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

tal so Dear to any, as he was to all; and, That he hated all Vices, but none more than Flattery.

But while the *Generosity* of Sir William, caused him to desire a *Liberty of Conscience*, his *Piety* would not allow a *Liberty of Prophaneness*, either to himself or others. He did not affect any mighty *show* of Devotion, and when he saw any that were *evidently careful* to make a *show*, and especially, if at the same Time they were notoriously Defective, in the Duties of *Common Justice* or *Goodness*, or the Duties of the *Relations*, wherein God had *stationed* them, he had an extream Aversion for them.

Nevertheless, he did show a Conscientious Desire to observe the Laws of the Lord Jesus Christ in his *Conversation*; and he conscientiously attended upon the Exercises of *Devotion* in the Seasons thereof, on *Lectures*, as well as on *Lords-Days*, and in the *Daily-Sacrifice*, the Morning and Evening Service of his own Family; yea, and at the *Private Meetings* of the Devout People kept every *Forinight* in the Neighbourhood.

Besides all this, when he had *great Works* before him, he would Invite good Men to come and *Fast* and *Pray* with him at his House for the Success thereof; and when he had succeeded in what he had undertaken, he would prevail with them to come and keep a Day of Solemn *Thanksgiving* with him. His *Love* to Almighty God, was indeed, manifested by nothing more, than his *Love* to those that had the *Image* of God, upon them; He Heartily, and with a Real Honour for them, *Loved* all *Godly Men*; and in so doing, he did not confine *Godliness* to this or that Party, but wherever he saw the *Fear of God*, in one of a *Congregational*, or *Presbyterian*, or *Antipædobaptist*, or *Episcopalian* Perswasion, he did, without any Difference, express towards them a Reverent Affection.

But

Late Governour of New-England. 93

But he made no Men more welcome, than those good Men, whose Office 'tis to promote and preserve Goodness in all other Men; even the Ministers of the Gospel: Especially when they were such as faithfully Discharged their Office: And from these at any Time, the least Admonition or Intimation of any good Thing to be done by him, he entertained with a most obliging Alacrity. His Religion in Truth, was one Principle that added Virtue unto that vast Courage, which was always in him to a Degree Heroical. Those Terrible Nations, which made their Descents from the Northern on the Southern Parts of Europe, in those Elder Ages, when so to swarm out was more frequent with them, were inspired with a valiant Contempt of Life, by the Opinion, wherein their famous Odin instructed them. That their Death was but an Entrance into another Life, wherein they who Died in Warlike Actions, were bravely feasted with the God of War for ever: 'Tis inexpressible, How much the Courage of those fierce Mortals was fortified by that Opinion.

But when Sir William Phips was asked by some that observed his Valiant Contempt of Death, What it was that made him so little afraid of Dying, he gave a better grounded Account of it, than those Pagans could; his Answer was, I do humbly believe, That the Lord Jesus Christ shed his Precious Blood for me, by His Death procuring my Peace with God: and what should I now be afraid of Dying for?

But this Leads me to mention the Humble and Modest Carriage in him, towards other Men, which accompanied this his Piety. There were certain Poms belonging unto the several Places of Honour, through which he passed; Poms, that are very taking to Men of little Souls: But although he rose from so little, yet he discovered a marvellous Contempt of those Aie-ry Things, and as far, as he handsomely could, he declined being ceremoniously, or any otherwise than with

94 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

with a *Dutch Modesty* waited upon. And it might more truly be said of him, than it was of *Aristides*, *He was never seen the Prouder for any Honour, that was done him from his Country-men.*

Hence, albeit I have read that complaint, made by a worthy Man, *I have often observed, and this notwithstanding some Blushing, that even good People have had a kind of Shame upon them, to acknowledge their low beginning, and used all Arts to hide it.* I could never observe the least of that Fault in this worthy Man; but he would speak of his own *low beginning* with as much Freedom and Frequency, as if he had been afraid of having it forgotten.

It was counted an Humility in King *Agathocles*, the Son of a *Potter*, to be served therefore in *Earthen Vessels*, as *Plutarch* hath informed us: It was counted an Humility in Arch-Bishop *Willigis*, the Son of a *Wheel-wright*, therefore to have *Wheels* hung about his Bed-Chamber, with this Inscription, *Recolle unde Veneris*, i. e. *Remember thy Original.* But such was the Humility and Lowliness of this *Rising Man*! Not only did he after his return to his Country in his Greatness, one Day, make a splendid Feast for the *Ship Carpenters* of *Boston*, among whom he was willing at his Table, to Commemorate, the Mercy of God unto him, who had once been a *Ship Carpenter* himself, but he would on all occasions permit, yea, Study to have his Meannesses remembered.

Hence upon frequent occasions of Uneasiness in his Government, he would chuse thus to express himself, *Gentlemen, were it not that I am to do Service for the Publick, I should be much easier in returning unto my Broad Ax again!* And hence, according to the *Affable* Courtesie, which he ordinarily used unto all sorts of Persons (quite contrary to the *Asperity*, which the old Proverb, expects in the *Raised*) he would particularly, when Sailing in sight of *Kennebeck*, with Armies under his Command, call the
Young

Late Governour of New-England. 95

Young Souldiers and Sailers upon Deck, and speak to them after this Fashion; *Young Men, It was upon that Hill, that I kept Sheep, a few Years ago; and since you see that Almighty God has brought me to something, do you Learn to fear God, and be Honest, and Mind your Business, and follow no bad Courses, and you don't know what you may come to!* A Temper not altogether unlike, what the Advanced Shepherd had, when he wrote the *Twenty Third Psalm*; or when he Imprinted on the Coin of his Kingdom, the Remembrance of his old Condition: For *Christianus Gerson*, a Christianized Jew, has informed us, That on the one side of *David's Coin*, were to be seen his old Pouch and Crook, the Instruments of *Shepherdy*; on the other side, were Enstamped the Towers of *Zion*.

In fine, our Sir *William* was a Person of so sweet a Temper, that they who were most intimately acquainted with him, would commonly pronounce him, *The best Conditioned Gentleman in the World!* And by the continual Discoveries and Expressions of such a Temper, he so gained the Hearts of them who waited upon him in any of his Expeditions, that they would commonly profess themselves willing still, to have gone with him to the End of the World.

But if all other People found him so kind a Neighbour, we may easily inferr what an Husband he was unto his Lady. Leaving unmentioned that *Virtue* of his *Chastity*, which the Prodigious Depravation, brought by the Late Reigns upon the Manners of the Nation, has made worthy to be mentioned as a *Virtue* somewhat *Extraordinary*; I shall rather pass on to say, That the Love, even to Fondness, with which he always treated her, was a Matter not only of *Observation*, but even of such *Admiration*, that every one said, *The Age afforded not a kinder Husband!* This Kindness appeared not only in his making it no less his *Delight* than *Study*, to render his whole

whole Conversation agreeable to her, but also, and perhaps chiefly, in the *Satisfaction* which it gave him, to have his Interests very much at her Command. Before he first went abroad, upon *Wrack Designs*, he, to make his long Absence, easie unto her, made *her* his Promise, that what *Estate* the God of Heaven should then bestow upon him, should be entirely at her *Disposal*, in Case that she survived him.

And when Almighty God accordingly bestow'd upon him a Fair *Estate*, he not only rejoiced in seeing so many Acts of *Charity* done every Day by *Her* bountiful Hand, but he also (not having any Children of his own) Adopted a Nephew of *Her's* to be his *Heir*: And reckoning that a *Verbal Intimation* unto her of what Pious and Publick Uses, he would have any Part of his *Estate*, after his *Death* put unto, as well as what *Supports* he would have afforded unto his own Relations, would be as much attended by *Her*, as if he had otherwise taken the most effectual Care imaginable, he contented himself with Bequeathing all he had entirely to *Her*, in his *Last Will and Testament*; He knew very well, that *Her Will*, in Point of a *Liberal Disposition* to *Honour the Lord with the Substance*, which the Lord had in so strange a manner enriched them withal, would not fail of being equal with *his own*.

But we must now return to our Story.

S E C T. 19.

When Persons do by Studies full of *Curiosity*, seek to inform themselves of things, about which the God of Heaven hath forbidden our *curious enquiries*, there is a marvellous *Impression*, which the *Demons* do often make on the Minds of those their Votaries, about the *Future* or *Secret Matters* unlawfully enquired after, and at last there

there is also an horrible *Possession*, which those *Fatidic Demons* do take of them. The *Snares* of Hell, hereby laid for miserable Mortals have been such, that when I read the Laws, which *Agellius* affirms to have been made, even in *Pagan Rome*, against the *Vaticinatores*, I wonder that no *English* Nobleman, or Gentleman signalizes his regard unto *Christianity*, by doing what even a *Roman Tully* would have done, in promoting *An Act of Parliament*, against that *Paganish Practice of Judicial Astrology*, whereof, if such Men as *Austin* were now Living, they would Assert, *The Devil first found it, and they that profess it, are Enemies of Truth and of God.*

In the mean Time, I cannot but relate a wonderful Experience of *Sir William Phips*, by the Relation whereof something of an *Antidote* may be given against a *Poison*, which the Diabolical *Figure-Flingers*, and *Fortune-Tellers* that swarm all the World over, may insinuate into the Minds of Men. Long before *Mr. Phips* came to be *Sir William*, while he sojourned in *London*, there came into his Lodging an Old *Astrologer*, living in the Neighbourhood, who making some *Observation* of him, though he had small or no *Conversation* with him, did (howbeit by him wholly undesired) one Day send him a Paper, wherein he had, with Pretences of a Rule in *Astrology* for each Article, distinctly noted the most material Passages that were to befall this our *Phips*, in the remaining Part of his Life; it was particularly Asserted and Inserted, That he should be engaged in a Design, wherein by Reason of Enemies at Court, he should meet with much Delay; That nevertheless in the *Thirty Seventh* Year of his Life, he should find a *mighty Treasure*; That in the *Forty First* Year of his Life, his *King* should employ him, in as great a *Trust beyond Sea*, as a Subject could easily have: That soon after this, he should undergo an hard *Storm* from the Endeavours of his Adversaries to

Reproach him, and *Ruine* him; That his Adversaries though they should go very *near* gaining the Point, should yet *miss* of doing so; That he should hit upon a vastly *Richer Matter* than any that he had hitherto met withal; That he should continue *Thirteen Years* in his *Publick Station*, full of Action, and full of Hurry; And the rest of his Days he should spend in the Satisfaction of a *Peaceable Retirement*.

Mr. *Phips* received this undesired Paper with Trouble and with Contempt; and threw it by among certain loose Papers, in the Bottom of a Trunk, where his Lady some Years after accidentally Lit upon it. His Lady with Admiration, saw step after step, very much of it accomplished; but when she heard from *England*, that Sir *William* was coming over with a Commission to be Governour of *New-England*, in that very Year of his Life, which the Paper specified, she was afraid of letting it ly any longer in the House, but cast it into the *Fire*.

Now the Thing which I must invite my Reader to Remark is this; That albeit Almighty God may permit the *Devils* to *predict*, and perhaps to *perform* very many particular things to Men, that shall by such a *presumptuous and unwarrantable Juggle*, as *Astrology* (so Dr. *Hall* well calls it!) or any other *Divination*, consult them, yet the *Devils* which *fore-tel* many *True Things*, do commonly *fore-tel* some that are *False*, and it may be propose by the Things that are *True* to betray Men into some fatal Misbelief and Miscarriage about those that are *False*.

Very singular therefore was the Wisdom of Sir *William Phips*, that, as he ever Treated these *Prophecies* about him with a most *Pious neglect*, so, when he had seen all but the *two Last* of them very punctually fulfilled, yea and seen the beginning of a Fulfilment unto the *Last but one* also, yet when I pleasantly mentioned them unto him, on purpose to Try whether there were any occasion for me humbly
to

Late Governour of New-England. 99

to give him the serious *Advice*, necessary in such a Case, to Anticipate the *Devices* of Satan, he prevented my *Advice*, by saying to me. *Sir, I do believe there might be a cursed Snare of Satan in those Prophecies: I Believe Satan might have leave to foretel many Things, all of which might come to pass in the beginning, to lay me asleep about such things as are to follow, especially about the main chance of all; I do not know, but I am to Dye this Year: For my Part, by the Help of the Grace of God; I shall endeavour to live as if I were this Year to Dye. And let the Reader now attend the Event!*

S E C T. 20.

'TIS a Similitude which I have Learned from no less a Person, than the great *Basil*. That as the *Eye* sees not those Objects which are applied close unto it, and even ly upon it; but when the Objects are to some distance removed, it clearly discerns them: So, we have little sense of the Good, which we have in our Enjoyments; until God by the removal thereof, teach us better to prize what we once enjoyed. It is true, the Generality of sober and thinking People among the *New-Englanders*, did as highly value the *Government* of *Sir William Phips*, whilst he lived, as they do his *Memory* since his Death; nevertheless it must be confessed, that the Blessing which the Country had in his indefatigable Zeal, to serve the Publick in all it's Interests, was not so valued as it should have been.

It was mention'd long since, as a notorious Fault in *Old Egypt*, That it was *Loquax & Ingeniosa in Contumeliam Praefectorum Provincia; si quis fortè vitaverit Culpam, Contumeliam non effugit*: And *New-England* has been at the best, always too faulty, in that

100 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

very Character, *A Province very Talkative, and Ingenious for the vilifying of it's Publick Servants.*

But Sir William Phips who might in a *Calm* of the Common-Wealth have administred all things, with as General an Acceptance, as any that have gone before him, had the Disadvantage of being set at *Helm* in a Time as full of *Storm* as ever that *Province* had seen; and the People having their Spirits put into a *Yumult* by the discomposing and distempering Variety of Disasters, which had long been rendring the Time Calamitous, it was natural for them, as 'tis for all Men *then*, to be *complaining*; and you may be sure, the *Rulers* must in such Cases, be always *complained* of, and the chief Complaints must be heaped upon those that are *Commanders in Chief*. Nor has a certain Proverb in *Asia* been improper in *America*, *He deserves no Man's good Word, of whom every Man shall speak well.*

Sir William was very hardly *Handled* (or *Torgued* at least) in the Liberty which People took to make most unbecoming and Injurious Reflections upon his Conduct, and Clamour against him even for those very Actions, which were not only *Necessary* to be done, but highly *Beneficial* unto themselves; And though he would ordinarily smile at their *Frowardness*, calling it, *His Country Pay*, yet he sometimes resented it with some uneasiness; he seem'd unto himself sometimes almost as bad as Rolled about in *Regulus's* Barrel; and had occasion to think on the *Italian* Proverb, *To wait for one who does not come; to ly a Bed not able to sleep; and to find it impossible to please those whom we serve, are three Grievs enough to kill a Man.*

But as *Forward* as the People were, under the *Epidemical Vexations* of the Age, yet there were very few that would not acknowledge unto the very Last, *It will be hardly possible for us to see another Governour, that shall more entirely Love and serve the*
Coun-

Late Governour of New-England. 1691

Country : Yea, had the *Country* had the Choice of their own *Governour*, 'tis judged their *Votes*, more than forty to one, would have still fallen upon him to have been the Man: And the *General Assembly* therefore on all occasions renewed their Petitions unto the King for his Continuance.

Nevertheless, there was a little Party of Men, who thought they must not sleep till they had caused him to fall: And they so vigorously prosecuted certain Articles before the Council-board at *White-hal* against him, that they imagined they had gained an Order of His Majesty in Council, to suspend him immediately from his Government, and appoint a Committee of Persons nominated by his Enemies, to hear all *Depositions* against him; and so a Report of the whole to be made unto the King and Council. -

But His Majesty was too well informed of Sir *William's* Integrity, to permit such a sort of Procedure; and therefore He signified unto His most Honourable Council, that nothing should be done against Sir *William*, until he had Opportunity to clear himself; and thereupon He sent His Royal Commands unto Sir *William* to come over. To give any retorting Accounts of the Principal Persons, who thus adversaried him, would be a Thing so contrary to the Spirit of Sir *William Phips* himself, who, at his leaving of *New-England*, bravely declared, that he freely forgave them all, and if he had returned thither again, would never have taken the least revenge upon them, that *This* alone would oblige me, if I had no other Obligations of Christianity upon me, to forbear it; and it may be for some of them, it would be to throw Water upon a drowned Mouse.

Nor need I to produce any more about the Articles which these Men exhibited against him, than *This*; that it was by most Men believed, that if he would have connived at some Arbitrary Oppressions too much used by some kind of Officers, on the Kings

Subjects, *Few* perhaps, or *None* of those Articles, had ever been formed; and that he apprehended himself to be provided with a full *Defence* against them all.

Nor did His Excellency seem loath to have had his Case Tried under the Brazen Tree of *Gariac*, if there had been such an one, as that mentioned by the Fabulous *Murtadi*, in his *Prodigies of Egypt*, a Tree which had Iron Branches with sharp *Hooks* at the End of them, that when any false Accuser approached, as the Fable says, immediately flew at him, and stuck in him, until he had ceased Injuring his Adversary.

Wherefore in Obedience unto the Kings Commands, he took his leave of *Boston* on the seventeenth of *November*, 1694. attended with all proper Testimonies of Respect and Honour from the *Body* of the People, which he had been the *Head* unto; and with *Addresses* unto their Majesties, and the Chief Ministers of State from the General Assembly, humbly imploring, that they might not be deprived of the Happiness which they had in such an *Head*.

Arriving at *White-Hall*, he found in a few Days, that notwithstanding all the Impotent Rage of his Adversaries particularly vented and Printed in a *Villanous Libel*, as well as almost in as many other ways, as there are Mouths, at which *Fyal* sometimes has vomited out its Infernal Fires, he had all *Humane Assurance* of his returning in a very few Weeks again, the Governour of *New-England*.

Wherefore, there were especially *two Designs*, full of Service to the whole *English Nation*, as well as his own particular Country of *New-England*, which he applied his *Thoughts* unto. *First*, He had a new *Scene* of Action opened unto him, in an opportunity to supply the Crown with all *Naval Stores* at most *easie Rates*, from those *Eastern Parts* of the *Massachusetts Province*, which through the Conquest that *He* had

Late Governour of New-England. 103

had made thereof, came to be Inserted in the *Massachusetts-Charter*. As no Man was more capable than *He*, to improve this opportunity unto a vast Advantage, so his *Inclination* to it, was according to his *Capacity*.

And he longed with some Impatience, to see the King furnished from his own *Dominions*, with such floating and stately Castles, those *Wooden-Walls* of Great Britain, for much of which He has hitherto Traded with *Forreign Kingdoms*. Next, if I may say next unto this, he had an Eye upon *Canada*; all attempts for the reducing whereof had hitherto proved Abortive.

It was but a few Months ago, that a considerable Fleet, under Sir *Francis Wheeler*, which had been sent into the *West-Indies*, to subdue *Martinico*, was ordered then to call at *New-England*, that being recruited there, they might make a further Descent upon *Canada*; but Heaven frowned upon that Expedition, especially by a terrible Sickness, the most like the *Plague* of any thing that has been ever seen in *America*, whereof there Died, ere they could reach to *Boston*, as I was told by Sir *Francis* himself, no less than *Thirteen* Hundred Sailors out of *Twenty One*, and no less than *Eighteen* Hundred Souldiers out of *Twenty four*.

It was now therefore his desire to have satisfied the King, that his whole Interest in *America* lay at Stake, while *Canada* was in *French Hands*: And therewithal to have laid before several Noblemen, and Gentlemen, how beneficial an Undertaking it would have been for them to have pursued the *Canadien-Business*, for which the *New-Englanders* were now grown too Feeble; their Country being too far now, as *Bede* says *England* once was, *Omni Milite & florida Juvenutis Alacritate spoliata*.

Besides these two Designs in the Thoughts of Sir *William*, there was a *Third*, which he had Hopes that

the King would have given him leave to have pursued, after he had continued so long in his Government, as to have obtained the more *General welfare* which he designed in the former Instances. I do not mean the making of *New-England* the Seat of a *Spanish Trade*, though so vastly profitable a Thing was likely to have been brought about, by his being one of an Honourable Company engaged in such a Project.

But the *Spanish Wreck*, where Sir William had made his first good Voyage, was not the *only*, nor the *Richest* Wreck, that he knew to be lying under the Water. He knew particularly that when the Ship, which had Governour *Boadilla* Aboard, was cast away, there was, as *Peter Martyr* says, an entire Table of Gold of *Three Thousand, Three Hundred and ten Pound Weight*.

The Duke of *Albemar's* Patent for all such *Wrecks* now expiring, Sir William thought on the *Motto*, which is upon the Gold Medal, bestowed by the late King, with his *Knighthood* upon him, *Semper Tibi pendeat Hamus*: And supposing himself to have gained sufficient Information of the right Way to such a *Wreck*, it was his purpose upon his Dismission from his Government, once more to have gone unto his old *Fishing-Trade*, upon a mighty Shelf of Rocks and Bank of Sands, that ly where he had informed himself.

But as the Prophet *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, in their *Psalm* upon the Grants made unto their People by the Emperours of *Persia*, have that Reflection, *Man's Breath goeth forth, he returns to his Earth; in that very Day his Thoughts perish*. My Reader must now see what came of all these considerable *Thoughts*. About the middle of *February 1694*. Sir William found himself indisposed with a Cold, which obliged him to keep his Chamber; but under this Indisposition, he received the Honour of a Visit from a very

Late Governour of New-England. 105

ry Eminent Person at *White-Hall*, who upon sufficient Assurance, bad him, *Get well as fast as he could, for in one Months Time he should be again dispatched away to his Government of New-England.*

Nevertheless his Distemper proved a sort of *Malignant Feaver*, whereof many, about this Time dyed in the City; and it suddenly put an End at once unto his *Days and Thoughts*, on the Eighteenth of *February*; to the extream surprize of his Friends, who Honourably Interr'd him in the Church of *St. Mary Woolnoth*, and with him, how much of *New-England's Happiness!*

S E C T. 21.

ALTHOUGH he has now no more a *Portion* for ever in any Thing that is done under the Sun, yet Justice requires that his Memory be not forgotten. I have not all this while said, *He was Faultless*, nor am I unwilling to use for him the Words which Mr. Calamy had in his Funeral Sermon, for the Excellent Earl of *Warwick*, *It must be confessed, least I should prove a Flaterer, He had his Infirmities, which I trust Jesus Christ hath covered with the Robe of his Righteousness: My Prayer to God is that all his Infirmities may be Buried in the Grave of Oblivion, and that all his Virtues and Graces may survive, although perhaps they were no Infirmities in that Noble Person, which Mr. Calamy counted so.*

Nevertheless I must also say, That if the Anguish of his Publick Fatigues threw Sir *William* into any Faults of *Passion*, they were but Faults of *Passion*, soon Recalled: And Spots being soonest seen in *Ermin*, there was usually the most made of them that could be, by those that were least Free themselves.

After

After all, I do not know that I have been, by any personal Obligations or Circumstances, charmed into any *Partiality* for the *Memory* of this Worthy Man; but I do here from a real Satisfaction of Conscience concerning him, declare to all the World, that I reckon him, to have been really a very *Worthy Man*; that few Men in the World rising from so mean an *Original*, as he, would have acquitted themselves with a thousandth Part of his *Capacity* or *Integrity*; that he left unto the World a notable Example of a Disposition to *Do Good*, and encountred and overcame almost invincible *Temptations* in doing it.

And I do most solemnly Profess, that I have most conscientiously endeavoured the utmost Sincerity and Veracity of a *Christian* as well as an *Historian* in the *History*, which I have now given of him. I have not written of Sir *William Phips*, as they say *Xenophon* did of *Cyrus*, *Non ad Historiæ Fidem, sed ad Effigiem veri imperii*; what should have been, rather than what really was. If the *Envy* of his few *Enemies*, be not now *Quiet*; I must freely say it, That for many Weeks before he died, there was not one Man among his personal *Enemies*, whom he would not readily and chearfully have done all the kind Offices of a *Friend* unto: Wherefore though the Gentleman in *England*, that once published a Vindication of Sir *William Phips* against some of his *Enemies*, chose to put the Name of *Publicans* upon them, they must in *this* be counted worse than the *Publicans* of whom our Saviour says, *They Love those that Love them*.

And I will say this further; That when certain Persons had found the *Skull* of a *Dead Man*, as a *Greek Writer* of *Epigrams* has told us, they all fell a Weeping, but only one of the Company, who Laughed and Flouted, and through an unheard of Cruelty, threw *Stones* at it, which *Stones* wonderfully rebounded back upon the Face of him that threw them,

Late Governour of New-England. 107

them, and miserably wounded him: Thus, if any shall be so *unchristian*, yea, so *Inhumane* as libellously to throw Stones at so deserved a Reputation, as this Gentleman has dyed withal, they shall see a *Just Rebound* of all their Calumnies.

But the Name of Sir *WILLIAM PHIPS* will be heard Honourably mentioned in the *Trumpets of Immortal Fame*, when the Names of many, that *Antipathied* him, will either be Buried in Eternal Oblivion, without any *Sacer Vates* to preserve them, or be remembered, but like that of *Pilate* in the Gospel, or *Judas* in the Creed, with Eternal Infamy.

The old *Persians* indeed, according to the Report of *Agathias*, exposed their *Dead Friends* to be Torn in pieces by *Wild Beasts*, believing that if they lay long *unworried*, they had been *unworthy* Persons; but, all attempts of surviving Malice, to demonstrate in that way, the *worth* of this *Dead Gentleman*, give me leave to *Rate off* with Indignation.

And I must with a like Freedom say, That great was the Fault of *New-England*, no more to value a Person, whose *Opportunities* to serve all their Interests, though very Eminent, yet were not so Eminent as his *Inclinations*. If this whole Continent carry in its very Name of *AMERICA*, an unaccountable *Ingratitude* unto that Brave Man, who first led any numbers of *Europeans* thither, it must not be wondred at, if now and then, a particular Country in that Continent afford some Instances of *Ingratitude*: But I must believe, that the Ingratitude of many both to God and Man, for such *Benefits*, as that Country of *New-England* enjoy'd from a Governour of their own, by whom they enjoyed *great quietness*, with very *worthy Deeds* done unto that Nation by His Providence, was that which hastned the Removal of such a *Benefactor* from them.

How-

108 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

However, as the *Cyprians* buried their Friends in *Honey*, to whom they gave *Gall* when they were Born; thus whatever *Gall* might be given to this Gentleman while he lived, I hope none will be so base, as to put any thing but *Honey* into their Language of him now after his Decease. And indeed, since 'tis a frequent thing among Men, to wish for the Presence of our *Friends*, when they are *Dead* and gone, whom, while they were present with us, we undervalued; there is no way for us to fetch back our *Sir William Phips*, and make him yet Living with us, but by setting up a *Statue* for him, as 'tis done in these Pages, that may out-last an ordinary *Monument*.

Such was the original Design of erecting *Statues*, and if in *Venice*, there were at once, no less than an Hundred and sixty two Marble, and Twenty three Brazen *Statues*, erected by the Order, and at the Expence, of the Publick, in Honour of so many Valiant Souldiers, who had merited well of that Common-Wealth, I am sure *New-England* has had those, whose Merits call for as good an acknowledgment, and, whatever they did *before*, it will be well, if *after* *Sir William Phips*, they find many as meritorious as he to be so acknowledged.

Now I cannot my self provide a better *Statue* for this Memorable Person, then the *Words* uttered on the occasion of his Death in a very great Assembly, by a Person of so diffus'd and Embalm'd a Reputation in the Church of God, that such a Character from him, were enough to immortalize the Reputation of the Person upon whom he should bestow it.

The *Grecians* employ'd still the most Honourable and Considerable Persons they had among them, to make a *Funeral Oration*, in Commendation of Souldiers that had lost their Lives, in the Service of the Publick; And when *Sir William Phips*, the Captain
Gene-

Late Governour of New-England. 109

General of *New-England*, who had often ventured his Life to serve the Publick, did expire, that Reverend Person, who was the President of the only University then in the *English America*, Preached a Sermon on that Passage of the Sacred Writ, *Isa. 57. 1. Merciful Men are taken away, none considering that the Righteous are taken away from the Evil to come*; and in it gave Sir William Phips the following Testimony.

'This Province is Beheaded, and lyes a Bleeding. 'A GOVERNOUR is taken away, who was a 'Merciful Man; some think, Too Merciful: And if 'so, 'tis best Erring on *that* Hand; and a Righteous 'Man; who, when he had great Opportunities of 'gaining by *Injustice*, did refuse to do so.

'He was a known Friend unto the best Interests, 'and unto the Churches of God: Not ashamed of 'owning them: No, how often have I heard him 'expressing his Desires to be an Instrument of 'Good unto them! He was a zealous Lover of his 'Country, if any Man in the World were so: He 'exposed himself to serve it; He ventured his Life 'to save it: In *that*, a true Nehemiah, a Governour, that sought the welfare of his People.

'He was one, who did not seek to have the Government cast upon him: No, but instead thereof, to my Knowledge, he did several Times Petition the King, that this People might always 'enjoy the great Priviledge of choosing their own Governour; and I have heard him express his Desires, that it might be so, to several of the Chief Ministers of State in the Court of *England*.

'He is now Dead, and not capable of being Flattered: But this I must testify concerning him, 'That though by the Providence of God, I have 'been with him, at Home and Abroad, near at Home, 'and afar off, by Land, and by Sea, I never saw him 'do any Evil Action, or heard him speak any thing unbecoming a Christian.

'The

110 *The Life of Sir Will. Phips,*

' The Circumstances of his Death, seem to intimate the *Anger* of God: In that he was *in the* *Midst* of his Days removed; and I know (though *Few* did) that he had *great Purposes* in his Heart, which probably would have taken Effect, if he had lived a few Months longer, to the great Advantage of this Province; but now he is gone, there is not a Man Living in the World capacitated for those Undertakings; *New-England* knows not yet what they have lost!

The Recitation of a Testimony so great, whether for the *Author*, or the *Matter* of it, has now made a *Statue* for the Governour of *New-England*, which

Nec poterit Ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.

And there now remains nothing more for me to do about it, but only to recite herewithal, a well-known Story related by *Suidas*, That an *Envious Man*, once going to pull down a *Statue*, which had been raised unto the Memory of one whom he maligned, he only got this by it, that the *Statue* falling down, knock'd out his Brains.

But *Poetry* as well as *History* must pay it's dues unto him. If *Cicero's* Poem intituled *Quadrigæ*, wherein he did with a *Poetical Chariot* extol the Exploits of *Cæsar* in *Britain* to the very Skies, were now Extant in the World, I would have Borrowed some *Flights* of *That* at least, for the Subject now to be Adorned.

But instead thereof, let the Reader accept the ensuing *Elegy*.

UPON

UPON THE
DEATH
OF

Sir *William PHIPS*, Knt.

Late Captain General and Governor in Chief, of the Province of the *Massachuset-Bay New-England*, who Expired in *London*, Feb. 18. 1694₅.

*And to Mortality a Sacrifice
Falls He, whose Deeds must Him Immortalize!*

Rejoice *Messieurs* ; *Netops* rejoice, 'tis true ;
Ye *Philistines*, none will rejoice but *You* :
Loving

Upon the Death of

Loving of *All* He Dy'd; who Love *him* not
Now, have the Grace of *Publicans* forgot.
Our *Almanacks* foretold a great *Eclipse*,
This they foresaw not, of our greater *PHIPS*.
PHIPS our great *Friend*, our Wonder,
(and our Glory,
The Terror of our *Foes*, the World's rare
(Story.
England will Boast him too, whose Noble
(Mind
Impeli'd by *Angels*, did those *Treasures* find.
Long in the Bottom of the *Ocean* laid,
Which her *Three Hundred Thousand* Richer
(made.
By *Silver* yet ne'r Canker'd, nor defil'd
Ey *Honour*, nor Betray'd when *Fortune* smil'd.
Since this bright *Phœbus* visited our Shoar,
We saw no *Fogs*, but what were rais'd before :
Those vanish'd too ; harras'd by Bloody *Wars*
Our Land saw *Peace*, by his most generous
(Cares.
The *Wolvish Pagans*, at his dreaded Name,
Tan'd, shrunk before him, and his Dogs be-
(came !
Fell *Moxus* and fierce *Dockawando* fall,
Charm'd at the Feet of our Brave General.

Fly-blow the *Dead*, Pale *Envy*, let him not
(What *Hero* ever did ?) escape a Blot.

Sir Will. Phips.

All is *Distort* with an *Inchanted Eye*,
And *Heighth* will make what's *Right* still stand
(*awry*.)

He *was*, oh that *He was*! His *Faults* we'll
Such *Faults* as these we *knew*, and *lik'd* them

Just, to an Injury ; denying none
Their Dues ; but *Self denying* oft his own.

Good, to a Miracle ; resolv'd to do
Good unto All, whether they would or no.
To make Us Good, Great, Wise, and all
(Things else,
He wanted but the *Gift of Miracles*.
On Him, vain Mob, thy Mischiefs cease to
(throw ;
Bad, but alone in *This* ; the *Times* were so.

Stout to a Prodigy; living in Pain
 To send back *Quebeck-Bullets* once again.
 Thunder, his Musick, sweeter than the
 (Spheres,
 Chim'd Roaring *Canons*, in his Martial Ears.
Frigats of armed Men could not withstand,
 'Twas try'd, the Force of his one *Swordless*
 (Hand :
Hand, which in one, all of *Briareus* had,
 And *Hercule's* twelve *Toyls* but *Pleasures* made.

L.

Too

Upon the Death of

Too *Humble* ; in brave *Stature* not so Tall,
As low in *Carriage*, stooping unto all.
Rais'd in *Estate*, in *Figure*, and *Renown*,
Not *Pride* ; *Higher*, and yet not *Prouder*
(grown.
Of *Pardons* full ; ne'r to *Revenge* at all,
Was that which He would *Satisfaction* call.

True to his *Mate* ; from whom though of-
(ten flown.
A *Stranger* yet to every *Love* but *one*.
Write Him not *Childless*, whose whole *Peo-*
(ple were
Sons, *Orphans* now, of His *Paternal* *Care*.

Now lest *ungrateful* *Erands* we should in-
(cur,
Your *Salary* we'll Pay in *Tears*, GREAT
(SIR!

To *England* often blown , and by his
(Prince
Often sent laden with *Preferments* thence.
Preferr'd each Time He went, when all was
(done
That *Earth* could do, Heaven fetch'd Him to
(a Crown.

'Tis

Sir Will. Phips.

'Tis *He* : with *Him* Interr'd how great de-
(*signs* !
Stand Fearless now , ye *Eastern Firrs* and
(*Pines*.
With *Naval Stores* not to enrich the Nati-
(on,
Stand, for the *Universal Conflagration*.
Mines, opening unto none but *Him*, now stay
Close under Lock and Key, till the Last Day :
In this, like to the *Grand Aurifick Stone*,
By any but *Great Souls* not to be known.
And Thou Rich Table, with *Bodilla* lost,
In the Fair *Galeon*, on our *Spanish Coast*.
In weight Three Thousand, and Three Hun-
(dred Pound,
But of Pure Massy Gold, ly *Thou*, not found.
Safe, since *He's* laid under the *Earth* asleep,
Who learnt where Thou dost under *Water*
(keep.

But Thou Chief loser, Poor *NEW-ENG-*
(*LAND* speak
Thy Dues to such as did thy *welfare seek*,
The Governour that vow'd to *Rise* and
(*Fall*
With Thee, Thy Fate shows in *His* Fune-
(ral.

Upon the Death, &c.

Write now *His* Epitaph, 'Twill be *Thine*

(own,
Let it be this; *A PUBLICK SPIRIT's*

(GONE,

Or, but Name *PHIPS*; more needs not be

(express,

Both *Englands*, and next *Ages* tell the Rest.

FINIS.

*Books Printed for, and Sold by Nath.
Hiller at the Princes-Arms in Leaden-
Hall Street over against St. Mary Axe.*

THe Righteousness of God through Faith,
upon all without difference who be-
lieve, in two Sermons at *Pinner's-Hall*; on *Romans* 3. 22. by Mr. *Nath. Mather* Minister of
the Gospel.

A Learned and Accurate Discourse, con-
cerning the Guilt of Sin, Pardon of that Guilt,
and Prayer for that Pardon; written many
Years since by the Reverend Mr. *Thomas Gil-
bert*, Minister of the Gospel, lately Deceased
at *Oxford*.

The Conquests and Triumphs of Grace, be-
ing a Brief Narrative of the Success which the
Gospel hath had among the *Indians* in *New-
England*, by Mr. *Mathew Mayhew*, 1695.

Batteries on the Kingdom of Satan by Mr.
Cotton Mather, Author of the late memorable
Providences, relating to Witchcrafts and Pos-
sessions, and of Early Piety exemplified, 1695.

A Letter to Dr. *Bates*, containing a Vin-
dication of the Dr. and Mr. *Lob* necessitated,
by Mr. *Williams* his Answer to Mr. *Humfrey*,
by Mr. *Stephen Lob*, 1695.

The

Books Printed, &c.

The Throne of Grace, discoursed from *Heb.* 4. 6. in thirteen Sermons at *Pinner's-Hall*, by Mr. *Robert Trail*, M. A. 1696.

Scripture Proof for singing Scripture Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs; by *E. H.* 1696.

The Figures or Types of the Old Testament, by which Christ and the heavenly Things of the Gospel were Preached and Shadowed to the People of God of Old; in sundry Sermons, by Mr. *Samuel Mather*, sometime Pastor of a Church in *Dublin*.

FINIS.

Books printed at

The Press of the

University of

Cambridge

Printed by

W. Deighton

1854